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NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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GEORGE FOX.

THE FRIENDS :

WHO THEY ARE—WHAT THEY HAVE DONE

By

WILLIAM BECK.

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PREFACE.

THIS little work attempts only a general description of the rise, progress, and present state of The Society of Friends as a community in its Religious, Philanthropic, Social, and Industrial aspects.

Those acquainted with the subject will kindly make allowance for omissions which an intentional brevity has enforced, and any who may desire further details will find them in works which most Friends' libraries possess.

Such as this is—it is offered as a passing tribute of regard from one whose membership in the Society by circumstance of birth has been confirmed by an attachment produced by a sense of the justness of its views on Christian Faith and Practice.

WILLIAM BECK.

STOKE NEWINGTON, LONDON,

12th August, 1892.

PART III

The first of the three parts of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It begins with a brief account of the early history of the subject, and then proceeds to a more detailed account of the history of the subject in the last few years.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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THE FRIENDS,

WHO THEY ARE—WHAT THEY HAVE DONE.

CHAPTER I.

A CHOSEN GENERATION.

Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation—a *peculiar* people that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light.—*I Peter ii. 9.*

SOME two hundred and forty years ago, or to be more exact, in 1652, might have been seen one fine spring morning a tall young man of athletic build climbing the steep slopes of Pendle Hill, in Lancashire. It is a height remarkable for its extensive prospect. In one direction can be seen the waters of the Irish Channel, and in another, far off eastward, the towers of York Minster. Its wild rugged summit, held in awe by country folk as the nightly haunt of witches, is now associated with an important event in the gospel labours of this youthful traveller, George Fox.

He has left on record the feelings awakened in his mind as he gazed in that fine spring morning upon the wide prospect spread out below.

“I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire, and from the top of this hill the Lord let me see in what places He had a great people to be gathered, a people (he adds) in white raiment.” Such became known as the Society of Friends, which originated through the missionary labours of that young man of eight and twenty amid the houses and people of the district bordering around that Lancashire hill.

This travelling evangelist in his plain farmer-like appearance—though ungifted with the eloquence of a Whitfield or the scholarly training of a Wesley—had come like a David of old from the sheepfolds to be an instrument in the hand of the Great Shepherd of souls to bring off many from the hills of a barren profession into the conscious possession of gospel truth and power.

It was his assurance “that if but one man or woman were raised up by the Lord’s power to stand and live in the same spirit that the apostles and prophets were in who gave forth the Scriptures—that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession for ten miles round,” and certainly George Fox himself became a witness to the truth of these words by a ministry that shook men’s hearts exceedingly both in acceptance and in opposition to his doctrine.

Encouraged with the prospect opened before him on Pendle Hill, the missionary traveller descended and having refreshed himself by a draught of water from a spring by the wayside, entered with holy ardour on the coming service. Undoubtedly George Fox possessed bodily and mental as well as spiritual endowments for

success as a missionary preacher, being able at this time of his life to endure great bodily exertion and hardship. He could travel for days together without food or anywhere to rest at night, seeming to live independent of appetite and work without sense of fatigue. Earnest yet courteous in manner, plain yet powerful in ministry and doctrine, skilful in debate, he would harangue crowds for hours together, or conduct successfully arguments with professors and learned opponents.

By the time he had reached this particular district of England he had been engaged for about five years travelling in the midland parts of England in the spirit of a John the Baptist, calling upon men everywhere to repent for that the Day of the Lord was at hand.

He believed himself a divinely appointed herald to call men off from a formal worship to one in Spirit and in Truth, and from dependence on the teaching of man to know the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ for themselves, that they might not rest satisfied with reading or hearing of the experiences of Prophet or Apostle of old, but seek for the same divine influence in their own hearts, and thus enter into conscious possession of that Holy Power the Scriptures spake of as the blessing of true believers. They were to realize not only the saving virtue of our Lord's sacrifice on Calvary, but His spiritual presence in the heart, as the glorious result of His resurrection power, and thereby know a being brought off from the World's ways and Teachers, to be instructed of the Lord, who had bought them and was Himself the Teacher as well as the

Saviour according to the promise, "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be their Peace."

Such views in themselves led rather to greater depth or fulness than to any new form of belief or change in mode of worship, and during his five years of missionary labour in the Midland districts of England no fresh Society had arisen, although his ministry had aroused opposition in some quarters and met with much acceptance in others.

But now as he descended that Lancashire Hill a decided change was at hand and his followers were to group themselves into a definite Community, realising what he had seen in vision as of "a Great People in white raiment by a riverside coming to the Lord."

With his accustomed diligence George Fox went from house to house and from town to town in this district of Lancashire, proceeding thence to the Yorkshire and Westmoreland Dales, where he preached to the people in their markets, visited them at their farms and went to the mansions of the country gentry, everywhere and on all possible occasions, proclaiming his message even in the Churches. These he called Houses with a Steeple, for to him nothing deserved the name of a Church, but a membership of souls knit together in the faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour.

His Journal notes also preaching at Fairs, and adds, "so dreadful was the power of God that was upon me, that people flew like chaff before me into their houses.



SWARTHMORE HALL.

I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts."

Proceeding thus, amid much opposition but encouraged by the many who embraced his views of Christian Truth, he came into the Furness district and to the town of Ulverston, near which dwelt Judge Fell and Dame Margaret his wife, persons of quality and great influence in that locality.

Swarthmore Hall, their residence, is a substantial mansion of Elizabethan date, and its then hospitable owners kept open house to entertain visitors (especially ministers or those on Gospel errands), and hither George Fox was brought by one of his friends.

The minister of the parish was a fellow guest, and an argument begun with him on religious subjects was resumed a few days later in the church, where, after the minister had finished his lecture, George Fox obtained permission to give his views on the nature of Christian experience and worship. These seemed so novel and out of accord with what the congregation had just heard from the pulpit, that a Justice who was present, ordered him to be stopped. But Margaret Fell, struck with the depth and power of the message, called out to let him alone, and her influence prevailed for George Fox to proceed without further interruption. When he had finished with the people inside the church, he preached to a crowd outside in the churchyard, the people being much excited at this novel scene of the man in "leathern breeches" confronting their Minister.

It must be remembered this was in Oliver Cromwell's time, when the Church of England was dis-established, the parish clergyman dis-possessed, and sermons and lectures by Presbyterian or Independent ministers took the place of Church services, or use of the Prayer book. Remarks from those present were permitted after sermon or lecture was over, but if not approved it went ill with those who had ventured to differ, for these were rough times, when England had neither King nor Church, and scarce a Government to hold the people in order.

Margaret Fell was a lady in her own rank, and had married Thomas Fell, a gentleman learned in the law and Judge of assize for the principality of Wales. They had a family of seven daughters and a son, all by this time come to years of maturity. The mother was a descendant of the Anne Askew who suffered martyrdom in the Catholic days, and possessed a similar decision of character and firmness of purpose which carried convictions, when formed, into practice, and she soon became an earnest adherent to George Fox's views. Her daughters and other members of the Swarthmore household followed her example. They left off their gay attire, adopted plain modes of speech, avoided unmeaning compliments, and began henceforth to sit down together in their parlour to wait upon the great Teacher Himself, instead of depending any longer upon the national teachers in the churches, and it may almost be said that the Friends, as a *Society*, originated in these meetings at Swarthmore Hall.

The withdrawal of a lady of so much local influence from the public worship, and the number who followed her example, occasioned much commotion in the district, and the Judge who was away on his duties in the Welsh courts when all this happened, became much distressed at reports brought to him of his family having been bewitched into a religious melancholy by a travelling stranger.

Margaret Fell, aware of these slanders, awaited her husband's return with some anxiety, but when the Judge found that the alteration in his family's dress and manners had increased rather than lessened their affectionate attentions to all his wants, he settled in with a satisfaction little expected from what had been told him of the change, and George Fox coming to Swarthmore Hall that evening was permitted an interview for further explanations.

So after supper, when the family had gathered for evening worship, the visitor entered, and soon became engaged in a ministry, plain yet powerful, as to the true nature of Christian worship, and the high privileges open to the believer in a risen, glorified, and ever-present Saviour.

The Judge formed so favourable an opinion of George Fox and his doctrine, as to permit the continuance of meetings on his premises, and though he never joined the Society, would, when at home, leave his study door open to share in the meetings, and he used his influence to shield the Friends as much as he could when they became subject to persecution.

The ministers and their followers having failed to gain the Judge to their side, and unable to silence George Fox by argument, roused the town rabble upon him, which resulted in scenes of gross violence in this district, one of which occurred at Ulverston, during Judge Fell's absence, and may be taken as an example of how a missionary preacher was treated in those long past days. He was brutally dragged out of church and through the town, full of wounds from blows, and lay on a watery common, as if dead, from which swoon, suddenly reviving, he started up crying "Strike if you wish; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks," whereat a brutal fellow fetched him a blow with a heavy staff, so violent that the hand and arm were benumbed, and the people shouted it was done for ever; but "I looked at it (adds George Fox) in the love of God, for I was in the love of God to them all," and presently, as in a moment, strength returned to hand and arm, amid the rabble's amazement, who, instead of beating him again afresh, stood to hear the intrepid preacher. When he had finished addressing them, he went back into the town and harangued the people in the market-place on the contrast their conduct presented between true and false Christianity. After which, covered with bruises, body and limbs black, yellow, and blue, he took his way to Swarthmore Hall, where Dame Margaret and her daughters were busily engaged attending with lint and plaister to the wounds and bruises of many other sufferers in that day's tumult.

Here a few days of much needed rest followed, and the break it makes in his missionary career affords an opportunity to introduce some particulars of the parentage and previous history of this guest of Margaret Fell's, who had had such an influence on the religious life of herself and her household, and who had so narrowly escaped being beaten to death by an Ulverston mob.

CHAPTER II.

SOME DETAILS OF GEORGE FOX'S EARLY LIFE.

There is in broad Europe one free man—George Fox the greatest of the moderns—he looks heavenward from his earth and dwells in an element of mercy and worship.

CARLYLE.

IT has already been mentioned that George Fox was at the time of the incidents narrated in the previous chapter about eight and twenty years of age. His birth was in the year 1624, and in the county of Leicester, where his father, Christopher Fox, a small woollen manufacturer, lived in such esteem with his neighbours as to pass amongst them by the name of “righteous Christer,” and of his mother George Fox has pithily made record “she was an upright woman of the stock of the martyrs.”

Under home influence for good he had grown up an unusually grave, conscientious lad, avoiding all kinds of foolish sports, and so truthful and also so determined that it was a saying among his associates “if George says ‘*verily*’ there’s no altering him.”

Notwithstanding the reputation thus early gained for excellence of character in innocence and honesty, he felt himself a stranger to the heartfelt truths of religion, and was willing in search of this knowledge to relinquish worldly prospects that opened before

him, and even to leave his home and relations if he could but find the way of peace.

He consulted many occupying stations affording reasonable expectations of their proving his instructors, but gained from them nothing serviceable to his state, and although he associated for a time in different places with earnest and good people of various religious persuasions, he left them after trial of their ways with the mournful experience that not even these had been able to comfort him in his distress.

In this failure to arrive at true peace from the counsels of others, he adopted solitary meditations, and would spend days in some hollow tree in a deep study of Holy Scripture, and pass nights walking over commons and desert places in these lonely musings.

The mental strain became so excessive as to lead him to the verge of despair, for no more relief followed from solitude than from the instructions or companionship of religious professors.

It was the turning point in his spiritual life, for so soon as he had despaired of self-righteousness, and could adopt the language of the patriarch of Uz, "I abhor myself," he heard a voice, "O then (he says) I heard a voice which said there is ONE, even *Christ Jesus*, that can speak to thy condition, and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy."

Many pages of his printed journal are filled with a record of feelings and experiences at the opening of divine mysteries and revelations of gospel truth that attended this great change; let it suffice here to say

that he was now become a new man in Christ Jesus with whom it was his blessing to live in close spiritual communion throughout a long life of apostolic service that was the means of bringing many thousands to rejoice in a similar blessing.

Having alluded to his utterances in times of deep despair, a few expressions may be added as to his sense of relief that had come after several years of mental conflict and distress :—"I could not believe that I should ever overcome—but when Christ opened to me how he was tempted of the same devil, and had overcome him and bruised his head, and that through Him, and His Power, Light, Grace and Spirit I should overcome also, I had confidence in Him—He gave me His Spirit, and gave me His Grace which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness—and I saw professors, priests, and people were whole and at ease in that condition which was my misery, and they loved that which I would have been rid of ; but the Lord did stay my desires upon Himself from whom my help came, and my care was cast upon Him alone."

George Fox was about three and twenty when he felt the Divine commission to speak of that which he had learned and to testify of that which he had spiritually seen of the Grace of God to all men in Christ Jesus. He had been brought through an "ocean of darkness" into the peace and power of his risen and glorified Saviour. Many came to consult him both from far and near, esteeming him to be a young man with a *discerning* spirit. To such he spake

of the things of God, and was heard with an attention that led many to seek through *silent* waiting and wrestling of spirit for the same Peace themselves. He saw the Harvest white, and himself as its reaper, with a sense of coming opposition of which his more public ministry soon brought him an ample experience.

In this age of toleration for all religious opinions it may be difficult to understand how it came to pass that a young man, who would now have been termed a preacher of the higher Christian life, was denounced as a blasphemer or imprisoned as a dangerous character by the magistrates. It must be remembered that England was at this time in great commotion, political, social and religious; there was neither King nor Church, and the Magistrates' power was uncertain. The authorities dreaded meetings as sources of plots and factions, and the preachers who occupied the parish pulpits were too many of them learned *professors*, rather than actual *possessors* of the Truth on which they discoursed. It angered them to be lectured by a youth who had never been to College, as if he could unfold a more excellent way, and when he claimed (as he did) to be in possession of a measure of that Spirit in which the Scriptures were written, this was denounced as *despising* the Bible, and again, when he pleaded for a knowledge of sin being overcome and a state of perfectness attained, he was charged with saying he was a Christ himself, and as a consequence imprisoned for *Blasphemy*, whilst what he really proclaimed was Purity, Righteousness and Perfection

through belief in and by the power of Christ.

Religious controversy and political strife went hand in hand, and as the rival parties had spent years in fighting on battle-fields it is no surprise to find that whichever one was in power persecuted the other, and George Fox and his Friends (who were conscientiously of no political party whatever) became dreaded by each in turn. At this time the Puritans were uppermost, who had brought their King to the scaffold, and their preachers said George Fox was a man not fit to be at large, so for more than a year he was their prisoner in Derby jail on account of his theological convictions and firm announcement of a possible freedom from Sin through the indwelling power of the Lord. This his opponents had distorted into a claim to be Divine, heedless of his emphatic declaration, "Nay! We *were* nothing, Christ is all." He bid the Justices tremble at the Word of the Lord, and for this, one of them called him a Quaker, an opprobrious title neither he nor his successors have ever lost.

It illustrates the strange temper of these zealous Puritans to find that their prisoner was, after some long weary months of jail life, offered his freedom, if he would but officer a troop of soldiers that was being raised in Derby to fight Prince Charles, then with an army at Worcester seeking to regain his father's throne. The soldiers, pleased at the prospect, cried out to have this stalwart youth placed over them, for he looked like one born to command. He declined the tempting offer, saying he was "in love with all men and could

not fight against any," which religious conviction against the unlawfulness of all wars and fightings being construed as a disloyalty to the government, he was in rage thrust back amongst the lowest rogues, and kept near six months, as if he were the vilest of criminals, in a nasty stinking place with not even a bed to lie upon. At length, no real cause of offence being found against him, and some trouble that fell on the town being thought a judgment on their conduct, the authorities dismissed him as having proved himself "an honest and virtuous man." It set him free for that missionary journey among the fields "white unto harvest," which, as already described, brought him to the incidents connected with Swarthmore Hall. With all the energy of youthful manhood and the zeal of an inspired evangelist, George Fox prosecuted his mission in these Northern districts, now preaching to throngs from a haystack or a hillock, then to crowded congregations in churches for three hours at a time, with ministers silenced by his arguments and people amazed at his doctrine. Then came long reasonings with professors in conference or wise counsel to converts in houses. At times he is in arrest as a prisoner at sessions or before justices, exposing the calumnies of accusers, and clearing himself to the conviction of sober-minded and learned men. In his public ministry he used no flattering words or fair speeches, but boldly called all to repentance. At Market crosses he would publicly denounce the cozening and deceitful practices of traders, and sought in

both high and low to awaken the voice of Conscience in the heart. This he assured them was the word of the Lord to the soul, which, if attended to, would lead to repentance, and to a being taught of the Lord with an ability to resist all evil by the Lord's own power, to the end that their bodies might be pure temples for Him, by His Spirit to "live in them and walk in them," according to His gracious promises in Christ Jesus. A great "convincement" resulted from this ministry in the six counties of Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cumberland and Yorkshire where, George Fox writes, "the plants of God so grew and flourished that many mouths were opened by the Lord to His praise, yea, to babes and sucklings He ordained strength."

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE FOX'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

AS curiosity may have been awakened respecting the personal appearance of one so dreaded by some, and so beloved by others, it may be mentioned that in the absence of any contemporary likeness,* our information rests on allusions contained in his Journal, and observations made by some of his intimate friends. From these we may gather that he was of a tall build, and in after life bulky in form, his eyes bright and piercing, (*"Take thine eyes off me,"* said one with whom he was arguing, *"they pierce me so."*) His voice powerful and strong, he could address large crowds for hours at a time in the open air, and make himself so heard above the din of an excited court, that a judge called out, "Thou hast good lungs, George, it needs four or five town criers to stop thee." In all matters of dress he was plain rather than peculiar, avoided finery in silks and velvets, and bright colours, which the gentlemen of the age wore, but always had his linen clean and good, and the "leathern breeches" were but what are still thought suitable for those so often, as

* One attributed to the pencil of Lely is now claimed as such, but some critics see in the regularity of the features more of the quietude of a Penington than the generalship of a George Fox.

he was, in the saddle. His manners, though without the compliments, then fashionable, of bows, or moving of the hat, or use of *your humble servant*, and flattering titles, were owned to be civil beyond all *forms* of breeding. And so far from having the appearance of a closely cropped Puritan, his long and luxuriant hair rested on his shoulders with a graceful curl. His mind had not been trained in the schools of human learning, but was of such capacity for acquiring knowledge that many of his associates who had had these advantages were surprised at his questions and answers in Natural things, for "he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere." He was plain and powerful, rather than eloquent in speaking, would go to the marrow of things, and had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures, and abruptly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him, they often served as *texts* to many a fairer declaration from others. He was, adds one of his contemporaries, "a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own; so meek, contented, modest, easy, steady and tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company." Whilst another who knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, and loved him dearly, says he was "Graceful in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous, weighty and instructive, zealous for the Name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things."

George Fox must have had some resources of his own that gave him an independent livelihood, for he was engaged in no business and never accepted remuneration for preaching. Instances occur of his being charitable in gifts to cases of distress. Probably he inherited a small patrimony sufficient for his moderate wants. We read of the large black horse he rode, and find if no hospitality was extended to him that he went to some tavern or ale-house and paid for his fare like an ordinary traveller.

When occasion required he could make great sacrifices of personal comfort, never more so than on his first Northern journey, so fruitful of results. He had left his horse, finding it a hindrance, and was on foot; was often refused meat or drink for days together though he offered to pay for it, yet travelled on unwearied and preached everywhere. So active was he, people thought him a wizard, so enduring that after days of continuous fasting a draught of cold water would suffice for his refreshment, and a furze bush or a hayrick serve him for shelter on a cold winter's night. But this inhospitable treatment among the northern folk soon changed as his character became known and his followers increased, yet he ever remained foremost in danger or in suffering amongst them. "Much of my life," he once said, "I have spent in prison." In 1649 such was his lot at Nottingham, the succeeding year at Derby for eighteen months, then at Carlisle in a filthy dungeon. In 1654 he was arrested at Leicester and sent to Oliver Cromwell who, as we

shall see, found no fault with him. At Launceston, in far Cornwall, they put him into Doomsdale.* At Lancaster he was twice confined in the castle, then sent to Scarborough where it looked as if death would be his release, and at a time of life when age and infirmities were upon him he was cast into jail at Worcester and released only by efforts that brought his case before the Lord Chief Justice in London who gave him a clear acquittal.

* "The prisoners and some wild people, talked of spirits that haunted Doomsdale, and how many had died in it. But I told them if all the devils in hell were there, I was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing; for Christ our priest would sanctify the walls and the house to us, He who bruised the head of the devil."—*The Journal*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY FRIENDS TRAVELLING IN THE MINISTRY.

“What Christ does for our salvation *within* us by His Holy Spirit, the Early Friends sought to unfold and proclaim as a mystery then little known to so many Christian believers, whilst what the Lord had done *without* us and for us, being generally accepted, they insisted on the one more than the other.”

AN ancient historian compared the spread of Christian doctrine throughout the world to the swift radiance of the rising sun, and it was with a somewhat similar rapidity that Friends' views of Christian Truth became known throughout cities, town and country, until Meetings were everywhere settled.

The labour of years in other parts of England had brought George Fox but few co-workers in missionary enterprise, but when these Northern districts were reached some sixty earnest spirits were suddenly found filled with a holy enthusiasm to spread everywhere the views that had brought peace to their souls through his ministry.

These threescore zealous missionaries left house and home (some of them never to return), and going forth two and two together, travelled mostly on foot, taking little or no money with them, depending for food and lodging on the kindness of those to whom their message might be acceptable. They coveted no

man's silver, or gold, or apparel, nor sought for profit or honour to themselves, but full of pious zeal desired others might come through their ministry to participate in the blessings they had themselves found by accepting Christ Jesus as their Teacher and Guide, through His Spirit in the heart.

For that glorious purpose had our Lord, they declared, made of Himself not only an offering for Sin (which all Christians acknowledged), but had obtained for man *power* over sin, whereby the believer through spiritual union with Him, might find an indwelling force making him victorious in the hour of temptation and proving an effective liberator from the dominion of sin, as the Apostle said (Rom. vi. 14)—“Sin shall not have dominion over you.”

Far short of this were the views then prevailing of the work of our Lord and Saviour for man. Religious professors contented themselves with the belief that justice due for sin had sheathed its avenging sword in a Saviour's breast, and that it honoured Him aright to conceive of His righteousness covering as a robe all poor Man's defects. As for divine virtue eradicating sin in Man, the preachers of the day declared any belief in such inward work and power to be false in doctrine, dishonouring to the Head of the Church and detractive from the atoning virtue of the great sacrifice on Calvary.

Whereas, these zealous ones proclaimed, it was giving greater honour to the Saviour, who died for all men, when the believer was willingly and patiently

submissive to a further *work* of the Lord's spirit in his heart *creative* of an indwelling righteousness.

They sought to lead on from the cross at Calvary to the day of Pentecost, that having died to all self-trust, a measure might be known of the same experience enjoyed by apostles and prophets, who felt there was that in them not of themselves, even the power of Christ's own endless, boundless, victorious life. Its result in those who thus felt the Spirit of Truth and yielded to its guidance in life and practice was that it influenced them in all things—their word became their bond, all untruthful expressions used as compliments were discarded, the vain fashions of the world were laid aside, truth was sought in word and act; which in an age of gaiety and fashion, made them singular in daily life, and led into singularity of religious practice. They could not join with mere professors in the outward worships, or use words in Psalm singings or prayers not truly expressive of their feelings at the time, and they preferred to sit down in a reverential silence, waiting to feel fresh arisings of the Spirit of Life in their hearts.

One social peculiarity resulting from the desire to be truthful was the saying *Thou* to all persons alike if only one were addressed, whereas society favoured the use of *You* as a compliment to those in genteel circumstances like as the term *Esquire* is now applied to some and *Mr.* to others; the Friend (in this respect religiously republican) said *Thou* even in the presence of the King, nor could he, when hats were worn in doors (as in the

House of Commons still) and only removed as an act of worship, consent to take them off as a compliment in reverence to any Law Court, notwithstanding such religious scruples condemned him in the eye of captious judges as one who would not reverence the Law.

His conviction also that Oaths were unlawful and all Swearing forbidden to a Christian, proved especial cause of trouble, for in those days such were the only methods by which a person could prove his loyalty to a Government that visited refusal with loss of liberty and property. In the face of these penalties the Friend, true to the command of his Lord, would "swear not at all," letting his Yea be Yea and his Nay, Nay; assured that "whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."

This valiant missionary band came forth in an age of preaching, when learned divines unfolded the meaning of Scripture in sermons of several hours' length, and officers in the army, captains and colonels of regiments were preachers as well as soldiers. Religious questions pervaded the politics of the day, and Parliamentary sittings would be spent in their discussion or debates merge into preaching and prayer.

The Liturgy was superseded in 1645 by another form of worship, called the Directory, which continued in use until the restoration of the monarchy. The Directory was not an absolute form of devotion, but contained only some general directions to the ministers as to public prayer and preaching and other parts of their functions, leaving them a discretionary power to fill up the vacant time. Whilst there was this general

regulation respecting the form of worship, the pulpits were occupied variously by all kinds of professors. "Independent and Presbyterian priests and some Baptist priests (observed George Fox) had got into the steeple-houses," and now that the Episcopalians were driven out, "hunted after a benefice as crows do after a rotten sheep."

Amidst this prevalent Bible exposition and doctrinal discussion, while different parties were forming Confessions of faith and bases of religious agreement, came this message, not only to learn from Scripture what the Lord had done in days past, or draw therefrom a rule of conduct, but also, and more especially, to partake in the same power that had made of men Apostles and Prophets, so that each one, no longer dependent on his fellows, might be himself a priest, taught of the Lord, joyfully to know a royal state in dominion over sin through the indwelling power of his risen Saviour. "The Son of God" (said one of these) "is come to deface and destroy the image of the Devil, and renew us up in the image of God." It came as a new aspect of the Gospel to people hitherto dependent on ceremonies or preachings, and they sat down in *silence to feel after* and to know Him who would not only destroy their self-confidence, but also liberate them from dependence on other men, and Himself heal their broken spirits and raise up in them His own power.

The teachers of the day finding their congregations lessened, denounced this view of Christian life as a

self-dependence, and because these earnest minds sought rather for that which the Scriptures bore witness of, than rested in the feelings and thoughts awakened by Texts, the pulpits cried out that the Holy Word was being neglected, and called upon magistrates, authorities, and justices of the peace to stamp out this heresy.

England during these days of the Commonwealth, being pervaded with unsettlement through factious plotting for a change, it was easy to rouse the suspicions of the rulers against those whose views as they spread everywhere, lessened the authority of preachers and ministers, and the alarm cry was raised that if unchecked, Magistracy and State authority would go likewise, and all the country be thrown into confusion.

In times when the scaffold or the pillory, the whipping post or the filthy jail were the modes for enforcing authority, it needed much courage and holy enthusiasm to brave the displeasure of the ruling classes in religion, and few of these sixty missionaries escaped without some share in such cruelties, unrighteously administered in the name of Justice.

Truly these illuminated ones had to endure a great fight of controversy and affliction, with trial "of cruel mockings and scourgings." Ears were cut off, noses were slit, and bonds and imprisonments inflicted for no other cause than opposition to the doctrines of popular preachers or refusal under any circumstances to swear or take an oath. Such brutalities, ordered by justices and magistrates in the name of Justice,

seem incredible to us living in this time of general Toleration, especially as those who thus suffered were *preachers* of righteousness, who called on all men "to walk wisely, gently, lovingly, meekly, and soberly, redeeming the time because the days were evil," and laboured that a holy generation might be raised, strengthened, and increased in the earth among the children of men.

Not only are the names known of most of these threescore propagators of Friends' views, but many of the letters written by them to Margaret Fell during their mission remain among the Society's manuscripts, and of some of them Memoirs or Journals were published recording their wide-spread labours, great successes and grievous sufferings.

Most of them were either young in years or in the prime of life; few possessed School attainments, but were deep in spiritual experience, and their preaching was not "with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power," and their endeavour was to bring off from the outward to the inward, and raise a "faith in the heart that should stand, not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."—(I. Cor. ii. 4.)

They entered freely into controversy, attended and spoke at public Lectures, preached in Markets, held great meetings, and those who accepted their message were gathered by them to assemble regularly in private dwellings or in some hired premises. In this way the Society of Friends quickly rose all over England, and

in London and Bristol increased greatly among the inhabitants of these chief commercial centres at a time when such places as Birmingham or Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, or Manchester, were but villages compared with their present populations.

Great diversity, both of station and character combined to give effect to this wide-spread mission. Some were but domestic servants, others had independent means, some had left the plough in the furrow, others the pen of the scribe or lamp of the student; some were farmers, others tradesmen, several had been esteemed as able preachers; and amidst this group great differences are discernible of character; one was deliberate like *John Burnyeat*, others calm and sagacious like *Thos. Aldam* or *Alexander Parker*. *Richard Farnsworth* and *Robert Widders* were thunderers against hypocrisy and deceit, *Josiah Cole* ecstatic with visions of heavenly glory, *Wm. Dewsbury* graceful in mind and speech, *George Whitehead* a born ruler of men. These may be taken as types of the variety in this large missionary band, amongst whom none shewed more zeal than the youthful *Edward Burrough*, who made great ferment by his ardent conduct in the Metropolis.

“Last First-day but one,” observes E. Burrough, in 1654, “I was at a Steeple-house [in London] in the forenoon, and had free liberty to speak what I was free, and passed away to [our] meeting in the afternoon.”

About the same date Francis Howgill, his fellow

labourer, writes : "I went to E.B., who was gone to Lombard Street to a public steeple-house, where most of the high notionists in the City came, and so I came to him before the priest had done, and after he ceased, Edward stood up upon a seat and spoke with a loud voice and in much power, and all was still and quiet, and he spoke about an hour and the people were very calm, and afterward I spoke and we cleared our consciences and passed away in peace."

As the work in London became eventually so important that it has been estimated the Society had there some 10,000 adherents, a few more allusions may be made to this work of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, who were the first to declare Friends' views publicly in the Great City.

"Great is our travail (they write) till Christ be brought forth in this people, and our suffering is even with and for the pure seed, which lies in bondage in this City . . . here are the subtlest serpents to grapple with . . . great giants to encounter, but by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions have been stopped and our adversaries have been put to flight. . . All the Priests and all the gathered Congregations in the city preach against us and are bent in great rage, and print lies, and incense people much. We have ordinarily two public disputes with the heads of them, and they lose their members so fast they know not what to do, yet the City is pretty calm and quiet. . . We get Friends on the First days to meet together in several places out of the rude multitude" [some seven or eight

had opened their houses for these more private gatherings] “and we two go to the great meeting place which we have, which will hold a thousand people.” And here, Bible in hand, Edward Burrough would expound for hours before crowds of listeners, “threshing (as he called it) among the multitude.” He was ready also to avail himself of any occasion that might offer for a public proclamation of the gospel. Once (for example) he came upon a crowd of rough fellows assembled on an evening in Moorfields, around some wrestlers, and arrived just as one who had thrown all competitors was striding in defiance round the ring challenging any to try a throw with him, whereupon Edward Burrough stepped out into the midst, and as the hero of muscle stared at his strange antagonist, began to declare in his powerful voice that he was not come to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against the powers of evil and darkness. The people listened to him, greatly wondering, and departed quietly, feeling that this ardent youth of scarce eighteen was such a preacher as they had not heard before. He and his companion, Francis Howgill, are described as instruments in the hand of the Lord “for the gathering of many, who like good old Simeon were waiting for the consolation of Israel.”

No central control directed the movements of those composing this Friends' missionary band; they went only where they themselves felt free to go, but met together when occasions served for advice and counsel, and evidently kept in touch with the mistress of Swarthmore Hall, from the neighbourhood of which

most of them had come, and it is very probable some of the poorer ones were dependent in a measure on her bounty for means of travel in this early stage when no Society had as yet been formed.

Let it be afresh remembered these were times of National confusion and commotion. Amidst the wreckage of the Constitution the Throne was vacant, the Church dis-established; a King, a Prime Minister and an Archbishop had each died on the scaffold; the House of Lords was abolished, the Prayer-book proscribed, and Episcopalian ministers driven from their parishes, and from the Universities. Civil war between King and Parliament was only just ended, and people's minds were unsettled amid conflicting ideas in religious, social, and political life.

The Liturgical service of the Episcopalian was thrust aside and the public use of the Prayer-book forbidden. The people assembled in churches, but it was to find some Presbyterian, Independent, or even Baptist preacher in possession of the pulpit, who would pray extemporaneously for the hour together, and preach at great length, many of them in excellent discourse, learned, devout, and eloquent. Their congregations had in fact assembled not so much to worship as to be taught by one who was minister rather than priest. Lectures as a means of instruction were much in favour with these Divines, when discussions would be permitted. All this should be borne in mind, as we read, in Friends' histories, of the three-score missionaries in their campaign, entering churches, sometimes interrupting, but

mostly waiting till the minister had finished, when the rough handling received, came not so much as a punishment for this conduct in a place of worship, as from the objection taken by the minister and congregation to their doctrine. It is observable that after the Commonwealth days, when Episcopalian ministers had regained their pulpits, and Liturgical services were re-established by law, no repetition of these scenes that at one time were so frequent, is observable.

Cromwell's government, whilst it gave England a measure of outward peace and prosperity at home and abroad, effected no settlement of her religious difficulties either by establishment of any one form, or that toleration for all forms which he professed as his aim. The various religious bodies struggled over possessions of pulpits, parishes, and tithes, each one as it gained any power oppressing the other, and all in turn and sometimes all at once striving to uproot and disperse the Friends.

Such of these as travelled in the ministry were frequently arrested as Vagrants, and as they could not swear to the oath of allegiance when it was tendered them were sent to prison as persons dangerous to the State, often on account of their want of outward reverence to the magistrates in keeping on their hats when in court. Those who for conscientious reasons could not pay Tithes suffered great loss of goods by distrainments, and thus for one or another cause the days of the Commonwealth were hard times for tender consciences.

Their persistent practice in meeting together en-

countered also the jealousy of the military governors Cromwell set over the counties, lest such gatherings should be nurseries of Sedition as many then were, but Friends kept theirs clear of politics, and held firmly to the principle of yielding obedience in all things *civil* “to them that have the rule over you.”

George Fox was, however, sent prisoner by one of these military governors to Oliver Cromwell in London, where he was examined personally by the great Protector, who, after hearing his doctrine, grasped him by the hand and wished he could have more of his company, telling his people to see that he had some dinner before he left, and when he heard that this had been declined, said, “Now I see a people has arisen that I cannot win, as I can all others, by gifts and honours.” He could not bribe the Friends, and to his discredit let the ministers and magistrates persecute them, but without effecting their dispersion; such treatment only consolidated them more closely into a Society, for there is no human fellowship like companionship in suffering, and Friends grew in numbers mightily.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY MISSIONARIES—*Continued.*

“In our days,” writes Robert Barclay, “God hath raised up witnesses for Himself, as he did fishermen of old, many, yea, most of whom are labouring and mechanic men, who, altogether without that learning, have by the Power and Spirit of God struck at the very root . . . and by reaching their consciences, gathered thousands into the same power and life who, as to the outward part, have been far more knowing than they, yet not able to resist the virtue that proceeded from them.”

WILLIAM AMES had a quick understanding and agreeable manners, and held, in early life, a commission in the Parliamentary army, where he was careful to preserve strict discipline among those under his command, having himself forsaken the gaities of youth under strong religious convictions. He was one of the early converts to Friends' views, and as a zealous preacher did excellent service during many years of his life in spreading them not only in England, but in Holland and parts of Germany. His latter years were spent in Amsterdam, where he settled in business as a wool-comber.

John Audland, born in Westmoreland, possessed superior abilities, and had gained a considerable re-

putation as a preacher among the Independents, but found the Friends' views led him into a deeper and more spiritual experience of his Saviour's life and power, of which he became a most zealous advocate, finding especial acceptance with the people in Bristol, who crowded to hear him in meetings that for want of space were held in an orchard, and converts gathered so fast that it was said "their net was like to break with fishes, they had caught so many."

John Camm, who was his companion in much of this service, came also from Westmoreland. He was married and possessed of an independence, but gave himself to this itinerancy with great zeal, encountering joyfully hardships that weakened his constitution.

Wm. Dewsbury, was a Yorkshireman, a shepherd, clothier, and a soldier, endowed with great qualifications both natural and spiritual, fervent yet deep, calm and sagacious, weighty in counsel, courageous in suffering. To England's shame, he spent much of his time in prison, which for the cause of his Saviour he entered as willingly as if it were a palace, and told his friends who pitied him his loss of liberty that these bolts and bars were "as jewels to his spirit, so greatly was he upheld to triumph over all outward sufferings.

Giles Barnardiston, a Suffolk gentleman, well educated and well married, once a Colonel in the Army, was another of these preachers by whom great sufferings were endured (chiefly in the Eastern Counties), from which it might have been thought his social reputation and character would have exempted him.

Francis Howgill, from Westmoreland, travelled chiefly with Edward Burrough through most parts of England. His gifts in the ministry were so extraordinary as to render him conspicuous in the Friends' annals as one of the chief founders of the Society.

William Caton and *John Stubbs* were oft companions in gospel travels and service ; both were from the North. Wm. Caton was one of Judge Fell's pupils.—his companion (of sterner mould) had been a soldier. They had most success in Kent amidst treatment from authorities such as rogues only deserve. Ashamed of such conduct, *Luke Howard* gave them the shelter of his house, and successfully challenged the constables to attempt any violation of its legal sanctity. [He was the ancestor of the Howard firm of Manufacturing Chemists].

Samuel Fisher, who lived in Kent as a beneficed clergyman, gave up all preferment and became known as an able defender of Friends' views in Conferences and by his published works, which show great ability and deep learning.

Josiah Coale, a gentleman of Gloucester, possessed of property, lived and died a bachelor, giving all his time and substance to the advancement of the Cause he had embraced. He was one who travelled to America, where he preached to the Indians. He is remembered as cheerful and social in temperament, sharp and piercing in handling the sword of the Spirit, very patient under sufferings and trials in England, in America, and in Holland, ending his days at the early

age of thirty-five, but able to rejoice at the glorious prospect death opened before him. "It had been his life and joy," writes one who knew him, "to declare the gospel and to proclaim the Word of God," and adds, "with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the Most High in his public prayers."

Thomas Loe was another gentleman. He had had a university education. His truly successful labours in the spreading of Friends' principles wherever he travelled were remarkable as being the means of William Penn forsaking the prospects of a courtier and man of fashion, which life had opened to him, for that of a Society in which he became so prominent a member. Thomas Loe's affable manners, tender sympathy and benevolent disposition were natural qualifications which greatly endeared him to his Friends, whilst great spiritual discernment enabled him to expound the word aright to their comfort and advancement in religious life.

Alexander Parker is described as one comely in person with a gentleman-like carriage and deportment; he was from Bolton and well educated. After some time spent in travel in the ministry he married and settled in London where he was prominent among those engaged in the settlement of the Society's constitution, being a very able and dependable man.

Robert Lodge and *John Burnyeat*, both from the North, were companions in gospel journeys, trials and sufferings, the former so ready to yield to a sense of

duty as to say on his death bed "The Lord knew he had never refused to go wherever a sense of it had drawn him," he was of an amiable disposition, circumspect conversation, and had an excellent gift in the ministry. John Burnyeat had passed through deep spiritual experiences, he was of a deliberate and deliberative disposition, frequently waiting long in the congregations before he felt any commission to speak, which added much to the impressiveness of his eloquent addresses. He laboured much and long, having a strong constitution and an undaunted spirit that bore him up through great trials under which weaker frames broke down. He spent his time mostly in the Lord's work and service, visiting Friends up and down in England, Wales, Scotland, Barbadoes, New England, Long and Rhode Islands, New York, and New Jersey, and during the latter part of his life he married and settled in Ireland, where he also encountered great hardships through the ardour with which he prosecuted the holy Cause he had embraced.

Thomas Aldam was a gentleman of means from Doncaster and an earnest and most judicious labourer in the Society to which he attached himself from its earliest stages. He was at the pains by travel to collect facts as to Friends' sufferings and laid these before Cromwell, but seeing no hope of his interference for their relief tore his own cap in the Protector's presence, saying, "So shall the government be rent from Thee and Thy house."

The two brothers *Christopher* and *Thomas Taylor*,

of Shipton, had great abilities and a learning that qualified them to be schoolmasters, and as such they were some of the earliest to undertake this office among the Friends and are remembered more for such service than in ministerial or evangelistic labours.

Richard Hubberthorn, a yeoman from Lancashire, is a name conspicuous among the early ministers, for although he had not a strong constitution, his labours were extensive, and notwithstanding the natural weakness of his voice, his ministry was of a kind that produced great conviction. He grieved much over the sufferings caused by persecutions, and had interviews with, and received promises of relief from the king, only to find how unreliable was the royal word that ought to have been sacred to truth. He himself died a prisoner.

Thomas Salthouse was a domestic in the Fell family, and had much acceptance in his travels and Gospel labours, for his disposition was affable and pleasant, his manners pleasing, and his ministry sound and powerful.

Miles Halhead travelled with Thomas Salthouse, and came from the same district. Their chief work lay in the far West, to the gaining of many, but to their own sufferings, from ill-treatment and cruel imprisonments.

Samuel Waldenfield was from Suffolk, and possessed independent means. He travelled much in the ministry, both in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany, in all about 40,000 miles, and had a great reputation in the society for his varied qualifications.

Christopher Story is remembered specially for his sound judgment and ability in the hearing and settlement of differences submitted to his arbitration.

Alexander Arscott, of Bristol, the son of a clergyman, had a university education and his services were much valued as a schoolmaster.

Samuel Overton, though only a labourer's son in social position, had so sound a judgment as to be helpful in the discipline.

John Gurney, of Norwich, was possessed of many and excellent qualities. A gentleman and a scholar, his eloquence made it a delight to sit under his ministry, yet he sought not popularity.

Benjamin Bangs was another eminent minister, fervent in supplications, grave in deportment, but pleasing in manners. He spent most of his life as a travelling minister.

James Dickenson, of Cumberland, also travelled much and far and was three times in America; a very serviceable and faithful minister, humble, circumspect, and of godly conversation.

Such characters as these glisten amid the records of the Society's rise and rapid increase during its earlier years, and ought to remove the unfavourable impression, if anywhere remaining, which the fanatical excesses of a few passing under the Society's name may have caused.

No movement so wide-spread as this could occur in such an excited state of public feeling without instances of imprudent or even reproachful conduct, the

blame of which should rest with Individuals rather than be associated with a Community whose leaders are seen to be persons of highest principle and their efforts directed to secure consolidation into settled congregations where all might be done “decently and in order.”

Hence there is no occasion to give account of some who made undressed appearances in the public thoroughfares or of those who carried out signs of warning or prophetic denunciation much in imitation of the old Hebrew prophets ; the wonder being not so much that these scenes occasionally occurred, as that they were few and that the Friends could be kept so peaceable, notwithstanding the shocking cruelties inflicted upon them, as to have earned the abiding reputation of being a “quiet and highly respectable body.”

One case, however, is too much of public notoriety to be thus passed by without acknowledging that *James Nayler* gave great cause of grief for his reproachful conduct. He had been a landed proprietor near Wakefield, Yorkshire, and was engaged in ploughing his fields with his own team, when he felt the summons to leave his all, that he might proclaim Christ and his Kingdom in the heart. Such was his unquestioning obedience that, without going home to take leave of wife and family, he at once set out on this evangelistic mission, which became marked with so much spiritual fervour and success, and alas stained by a reproach brought on his friends that not even his repentance can wholly remove. None of the fraternity

of early Friend preachers had had a larger share of popularity. His eloquent discourses drew crowds of admiring listeners, often from those moving in the higher circles, as it surprised them to find one in the dress and manners of a countryman possessed of such oratorical powers on the loftiest themes that can engage man's affections. A chief subject being the indwelling of Christ by His Spirit in the heart of the believer, he became, through the wicked flatteries of some fanatical followers, beguiled into a conception that he was in himself a manifestation of Christ, which it is said the form of his visage favoured from being so like to artistic presentments of that of the Saviour. He went so far as to permit a few of these deluded ones to parody the Triumphal entry by leading their favourite seated on an ass into Bristol, whilst they shouted Hosannas to him amid the excited crowd.

The result of such actions in these days would have been to subject those engaged in them to medical treatment in some pauper lunatic Asylum. But then it was regarded as a criminal offence of such importance as for James Nayler to be sent up to London, for a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into and judge the case.

By them he was condemned as a blasphemer to be pilloried, branded, and whipped. Public opinion evidently considered this as cruel treatment, for a merchant of the City stood by him in the pillory, and the people neither jeered at nor pelted him as is usual in such cases, with refuse and rotten eggs. They saw with surprise how the sufferer forgivingly kissed the exe-

cutioner who bored his tongue and branded his noble brow. The succeeding whippings twice given—once through the streets of London and again through those of Bristol—almost killed him with their severity. His undaunted spirit uttered neither murmur nor groan as the hangman lashed and gashed his bared back and sides, whilst with hands tied to the cart its horse dragged him slowly along. There is however a bright sequel (which those who reproach him too little remember), for he was brought to deep repentance and condemnation of his errors, which led to the entire forgiveness of his friends. At his death (which occurred not very long after) there was found a paper beautifully expressive of his altered sentiments :

“There is a Spirit which I feel
That delights to do no evil
Nor to revenge any wrong,
But delights to endure all things,
In hope to enjoy its own in the end.
In God alone it can rejoice ;
I found it alone—being forsaken
I have fellowship therein with them
Who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth,
Who through Death obtained this resurrection
And Eternal Holy Life.”

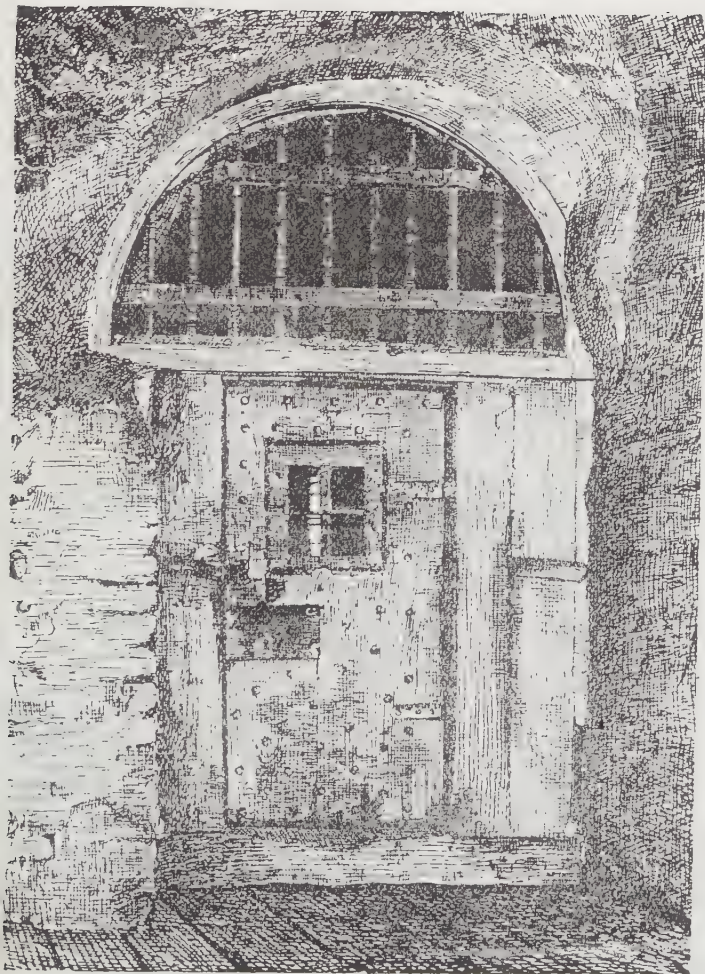
Another instance of one who came also from the fields, but was only a lad and the son of a labourer, is marked by almost equal cruelty as Nayler's, but wholly undeserved, for *James Parnel* was a holy youth, with a mind and ability above his position. Whilst but a little lad, as George Fox calls him, he became a preacher of great power in the Eastern Counties where he

travelled. It seems scarcely credible, but after his arrest, he was brought up for trial in chains like a common felon, under charge of being a heretic and, therefore, dangerous to the State. He was condemned and fined as a Vagabond, and for non-payment of this fine left to the cruelty of the keeper of Colchester Castle, where the hole in the wall in which he was confined is to this day an object of melancholy interest to its visitors. At that time it was only reached by a ladder, and this so short that he had to climb the upper part by a rope, and one day, missing his hold through weakness, fell to the pavement below with a broken leg, that for want of proper treatment, soon ended his days. He fell like Stephen an early martyr to the cause he had so ardently espoused. The only offence his persecutors could find against him was the confidence with which he had asserted the conscious presence of Him in his heart, whom Stephen saw amid opened heavens.

“Sublimer in this world, know I nothing” (writes Carlyle) “than a *peasant* saint. Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth itself. Thou wilt see the splendour of heaven spring forth from the humblest depths of earth, like a light shining in great darkness.”

As further illustrating the youthful age of some engaged in this ministry are the instances of—

George Newland, a youth of Ireland, who entered upon a gospel service in his twelfth year, to the comfort and edification of his friends, and died in his nineteenth, *Ellis Lewis*, of Wales, was similarly engaged



DOOR IN THE PRISON IN COLCHESTER CASTLE
WHERE THE ESSEX FRIENDS WERE CONFINED, 1665-70.

at 13, *William Hunt*, of North Carolina, at 14, and *Christiana Barclay*, daughter of the Apologist, when about fourteen.

The Society of Friends in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge was first raised and became very numerous chiefly through the instrumentality of *James Parnel*, *William Caton*, and *George Whitehead*, before any of them had attained the age of 20 years.

Much wise counsel remains in Documents issued by these brethren when in conference, together with earnest cautions against seeking popularity or self-exaltation. "Our labour and travail hath been and still is to preach Christ as servants for His sake, and to gather to Him and not to ourselves."

Not a few women Friends had their part in this ministry, some of whom travelled far and wide, such as *Ann Downer*, *Mary Fisher*, *Isabel Buttery*, *Ann Austin*, *Elizabeth Hooton*, with many others—preachers, as well as mothers in the Society's Israel.

CHAPTER VI.

PERSECUTION UNDER MONARCHY.

“There are many religions in the world and a variety of forms which have occasioned great persecutions and the loss of many lives, each contending that they are right : but there is but one true religion, arising from faith in God and in His son Jesus Christ and hope in His mercy.”—THOMAS GILPIN.

WITH the death of Oliver Cromwell, England, tired of unsettlements which only a military genius could control, reverted as by common consent to the restoration of the monarchy by inviting Charles the Second to his father's throne.

He came amid general rejoicings, for his promises gave assurance that all of various opinions in religion might have liberty to worship in their own way if loyal and peaceable in conduct. Such prospects vanished as a dream when it was perceived he chose his counsellors from amongst those of high views in Church and State under which arrangements orders were issued to re-establish the English Liturgy and Book of Common Prayer in all parish churches, and to use no other. This decree dispossessed 2,000 clergymen of their Livings, who, with commendable exercise of their conscientious scruples, preferred to give up their position rather than make use in worship of a ritual and ceremonies they could not approve.

This exodus from the parish pulpits carried with it no prohibition to the dispossessed ministers perform-

ing worship elsewhere, and hopes yet remained of toleration for Non-conformists which a sad outbreak of Fifth Monarchy men in London frustrated.

These fanatical persons had associated with their religious views wild political ideas, in the belief that King Jesus was come to reign, that they were His saints, and that he would found through them the last, or fifth and all-prevailing monarchy over the world.

For this purpose their meeting-houses were armories for store of hostile weapons, and one Sabbath morning all London was thrown into a fright by their issuing out into the streets, where they attacked and routed the City Militia, and killed or wounded those who opposed them.

Their numbers, however, were but few, and so soon as the military could be brought against them all were either killed or captured to die the death of traitors on the scaffold, but their wicked conduct served as a pretext for those who directed the King's policy to obtain Acts of Parliament prohibiting all meetings for worship other than those in Churches as gatherings dangerous to the peace of the realm.

By these Acts, Friends' meetings met with special prohibition, although the Fifth Monarchy men declared in their dying moments, that the Society had no connection with their violent designs.

The authorities under the conviction that no secure government was possible without obtaining uniformity in religious practice, and having settled on a church

system, invested the magistrates with powers to prohibit all other assemblies than those held in churches. In no private house were more than five beyond those of the household, ever to be, on any pretext, assembled together, under pain of fines which rose from £5 for the first offence higher and higher each time it was repeated, until the incorrigible were to undergo the penalty of transportation. If these fines were not paid distraints could be made on goods, or the individual be subjected to imprisonment. Such powers placed in the hands of justices and magistrates, caused great sufferings all over the country to those, who, like the Friends, could not in conscience forsake their Meetings, nor as some others did, meet in secret, but must attend them openly in defiance of these unrighteous laws, and the prisons, as a sad consequence, were filled with Friends.

They of all others, ought to have been exempt from the power of this legal machinery, since its professed object was to crush out *riotous* assemblies, or such as were dangerous to the peace and stability of the government, which character none could ever find in the quietude of a Friends' meeting.

But Friends' doctrine in dispensing with all church ceremonies was obnoxious to the clergy, who inflamed the justices and magistrates against them, lest their great numbers and prevalence throughout the nation, should make impossible that Unity in church and state, without which, it was asserted, no firm Government could exist. Thus aroused, the authorities (who were

themselves churchmen) put relentlessly in force these legalised forms of oppression to crush out a religious society, whose members, though loyal and peaceable in conduct, would not refrain from meeting together.

Even now, in England with all its freedom, a social ban, indefinable, yet none the less felt, affects those who cannot conscientiously unite in the forms of the state religion. But two centuries ago a legalised torture was applied with the avowed object of crushing out such a community as the Friends, who could not, at whatever it might cost them in their property, their freedom, or even their lives, give up their meetings, or pay priests'-dues, or take any Oaths.

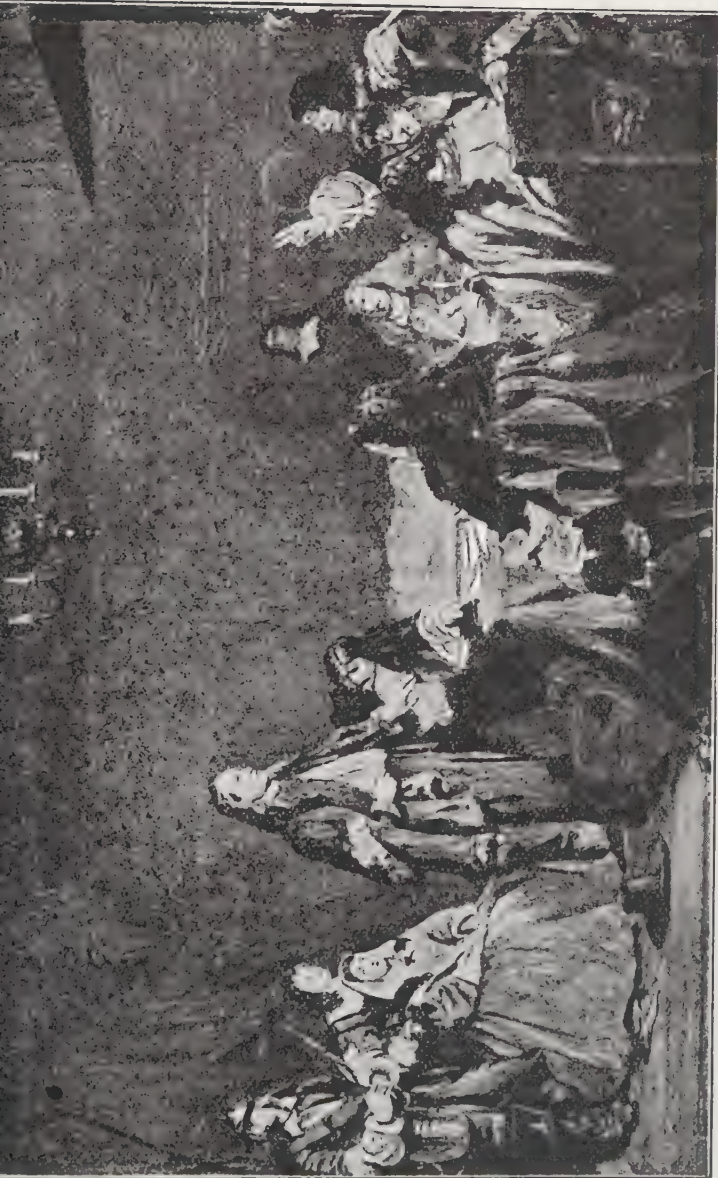
How this last could affect them may now seem strange, but it then was the cause of their greatest suffering, because anyone might in those days be called upon by a Justice of the Peace to show his loyalty by taking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. Its refusal involved no less a penalty than imprisonment for life or at the King's pleasure, which was a fearful system of tyranny in the hands of a prejudiced and bigoted Magistracy.

Such formidable powers were granted in the days of Gunpowder Plot to detect Catholic rebels plotting to restore the Pope's power in England, and having never been repealed were now turned against the Friends, who though neither dangerous or disloyal (but much the contrary), yet because they could not swear this Oath, all the penalties of its refusal were

laid upon them as much as if they had made their religious scruples a cloak to dangerous designs.

It seemed impossible to remove this idea from the minds of prejudiced authorities. When one of these asked, "How are we then to tell the difference between you and the Catholic, who will not swear this oath because of his being against us?" he was told, "There is this difference between us and the Catholics; they will swear to recover a debt or a stolen cow, but we will never take an oath even to recover what is due to us, for our Saviour forbids swearing. Our word is as good as our bond, and we are ever ready to give in a declaration of our true loyalty to the King and his Government." But these explanations, however clear to the unprejudiced mind, were of no use with Authorities whose set purpose was the extinguishment of all religious societies other than the Episcopal. With which object fresh measures were taken. "There is a new Statute," said Judge Turner to Francis Howgill, "that will soon make you fewer."

Knowing the wide-spread devastations such would cause, some of the leading Friends used great efforts with Members of Parliament to oppose this new legal machinery, and four of their number obtained permission to plead their cause at the Bar of the House of Commons—which was accomplished in so able and dignified a manner by these earnest youths that many Members appeared inclined to favour their suit—but the opposing party were too strong, and Friends were left to the dire consequences attending their keeping



GEORGE FOX REFUSING THE OATH AT HOLKER HALL
After a painting by John Pettie, R.A.

up of their religious meetings in defiance of these new and more oppressive laws against them.

Grievous cases of suffering ensued as the gaols filled quickly with Friends. There were as many as 4,230 throughout the country, who were thrust—as if no better than felons—into gaols and prisons, so filthy and so wretched, that England's shame was roused when a Howard about a century later exposed their condition. One of these at Warwick, where the sweet spirited and loving William Dewsbury was for many years confined, is described by a prison reformer in 1815, as an “offensive vault,” having “only light and air from a grating at top.” The chief prisons in London were abominable in accommodation and abominably managed—their keepers were persons of a low character, only required to provide free straw for sleeping on, and bread and water for diet—but they might sell to each prisoner whatever comforts he inclined to buy, and thus made their living. The Friends regarding themselves as innocent and their imprisonment unjust, scrupled to make any such terms with the jailor, who consequently gave them the worst accommodation and treatment, and many died in prison.

Thomas Ellwood, a gentleman of good means, who for being a Friend and attending their meetings had to spend some time in Newgate, has left in his published journal a graphic account of the state of this prison which may well account for the mortality prevailing in them. In the night they were lodged in one room, sleeping in hammocks, hung in three rows one over the

other, "the place was so filled with breath and steam from so many bodies of different ages, conditions and constitutions packed up so close together as was enough to cause sickness." Its loathsomeness was such that during 1662 and the two subsequent years, no less than 52 of these prisoners died from disease contracted there.

Richard Hubberthorn, who was one of those valiant four who had pleaded before the House of Commons, was imprisoned in one of these jails, and not having a strong constitution, soon fell into mortal sickness, and had to be carried out for burial like so many others.

Edward Burrough, whose services in London and in street preaching have been mentioned, who also was one of the pleaders with Parliament, came back from Ireland (whither he had gone) that he might encourage his beloved London Friends in holding their meetings. As a consequence he was soon one of these prisoners in Newgate, where, owing to its shameful condition, he fell grievously ill, and here this earnest preacher,—a son of thunder and consolation—ended his days at the early age of 28, triumphant in faith and forgiving all his enemies, dying a martyr to the principles of Christian Truth he had so valiantly advocated.

"Your gaols we fear not, no, nor banishment ;
Terrors or threats can ne'er make us lament ;
For such we are as fear the living God,
Not being vexed by persecution's rod.
Away, Hypocrisy ! begone false fear !
Immortal Life's the crown which we do wear,
Which cannot be removed from us away,
That makes us scorn your threat'nings every day.
These are our prayers, and thus our souls do cry—
Let justice live, and let oppression die."

—Lines written whilst in Newgate by EDWARD BURROUGH.

George Fox's iron constitution long withstood the rigour of an imprisonment in Scarborough's Castle throughout a winter of great severity, in a dungeon cell not fit for man's habitation, but at length he fell into a state of extreme weakness, and nothing but success attending earnest efforts made with the King for his release, saved him from death. The gross injustice of his confinement was shown by the governor saying on his discharge that he had found him "pure as a bell."

His bulky frame was now become swollen and benumbed with long continued exposure to rain and tempest on that bleak sea-coast; he was helpless as a child, and had to be lifted on and off his horse; his limbs were racked with rheumatic pain, each finger was swollen as large as three and nothing warm could be taken for food.

Yet even in this state of weakness the first use he made of his liberty was to travel slowly towards London to attend to the welfare of his Friends.

He found the City in all the distress and desolation of the last of three misfortunes that had befallen it, misfortunes that to some minds were as judgments for the miseries inflicted on Religious Dissentients. She had been ravaged by a plague of such violence as still to be known as the great plague of London. Her river had been invaded by the Dutch fleet which had burnt men-of-war at Sheerness, and now a fire of nearly a week's duration had raged over two-thirds of the City, and laid houses, churches, cathedral, and public build-

ings in ashes, and the prisoner from Scarborough saw little around him but blackened ruins.

To him these outward desolations of the citizens would be scarcely less affecting than the lamentable results persecution had brought among the communities of his Friends throughout the country, and his powerful mind became directed toward some measures to prevent their further dispersion.

CHAPTER VII.

ORIGIN OF THE DISCIPLINE.

UP to this time there had been but little of outward organisation attempted except through General or Quarterly Meetings, and frequent visits of travelling ministers. Now that the number of these Gospel visitors had been so greatly reduced by imprisonment and death, and General Meetings were impracticable, symptoms of disorganisation and disintegration were appearing that threatened serious results. There were divisions on subjects of Doctrine and Practice, a want of care in having marriages properly solemnized, and feelings prevailed in favour of each following what might be right in his own eyes—as if that were the same thing as a being guided by the “Light within” so earnestly proclaimed by the sixty preachers.

It was under these circumstances that George Fox advised arrangements for order and method that have ever since proved so effectual as to constitute him not only the originator of the Society, but the founder of its organic constitution.

These arrangements were the setting up of Monthly Meetings, or (to speak more plainly) the assembling together of the leading Friends in a little group of meetings once a month to enquire into the

state of affairs and keep record of their proceedings ; to register all births, receive notices of intended marriages, inquire into the clearness of the parties concerned, and when such had been ascertained, see that the wedding was religiously conducted, in the presence of at least twelve persons not of the family ; to inquire into and relieve the necessities of poorer members or widows, and see to the proper education of their children ; and further to hear and compose any differences, that Friends might not go to law with one another ; also to deal with disorderly walkers. Thus "all right-minded ones might feel that on themselves it rested to see that all who profess the truth do walk in righteousness and holiness, and order their conversation aright as becometh the household of God."

To bring these arrangements into general practice throughout the nation involved George Fox in arduous journeys over the whole country, for the unsettled state of the times would not allow of any general conference, and Friends' minds were so sensitive on the subject of individual guidance by the light of Christ in their heart, that nothing but the personal influence of this heavenly gifted man would have induced them to a general compliance with these arrangements. He was able to show them they would prove a development rather than a contradiction of the principle of this inward and individual guidance. Each one that felt the divine power in himself would find it draw him into association with those similarly influenced, giving an accumulative strength for examining into and dealing with matters

that concerned the interests and welfare of the wider area of a community. For this object he spared himself no exertion in giving addresses, counsel, or advice, leaving himself little time for rest, and travelling continuously for years together in this arduous service, throughout the whole English counties.

He felt as much under divine commission to secure an adoption of these arrangements as he ever had for the commencement of his ministry, and the settlement and good order which ensued made Friends thankful "in praise and blessing that the Lord God had sent him forth on such a service among them."

He afterwards introduced in a similar manner monthly meetings of Women Friends, which have likewise been found of great service by enabling inquiry and council concerning affairs of their own sex, which could be more suitably conducted among themselves. These monthly meetings did not at the first possess any official connection with one another, but commenced their useful service in an Independence, similar to the churches of the Congregational body, and only in course of time has the close association that now exists become established by grouping them into Quarterly meetings, and these again into an annual representative assembly. Nevertheless the monthly meeting remains the original *Unit* of the Friends' system. It is the one that admits and dissolves membership of individuals, acknowledges ministers, and appoints Elders. It nominates representatives to the superior meetings, and whatever such

may determine comes to it as advice and not as command.

Through these arrangements the Society became consolidated amid sufferings without and trials within, that otherwise threatened its dispersion. They have proved effective through two centuries of varied experience, and continue in operation the same as when first established through the protracted, arduous, and disinterested labours of George Fox. He sought no honour to himself, nor like Wesley, held any authority over them, his principle being one of self-government in a Unity that was spiritual rather than external.

He rejoiced to see his friends, as he said : “possessors of the joyful *order* of the joyful Gospel—the comfortable *order* of the comfortable Gospel—the glorious *order* of the glorious Gospel—and the everlasting *order* of the everlasting Gospel, through Him who hath all power in Heaven and Earth given to Him, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the Ending, the Foundation of God which over all stands sure. Christ Jesus, the Amen.”

CHAPTER VIII.

MEETING HOUSES.

ON account of increasing congregations Friends soon found it necessary to acquire meeting-houses in town and country instead of assembling in a house or premises belonging to some more affluent member of the Society, which procedure met with great opposition from the government as tending to establish what they desired to uproot, and full powers were given to those in authority for either closing or, if necessary, pulling down these meeting-places.

As a consequence many were closed, but when barred out the Friends met quietly around the doors or in the street; and when wrecked, as was not infrequently the case, they settled down calmly to their worship amid its ruins, although as a consequence they would be swept off to prison. Such was the holy ardour then prevailing that in one case where all the parents were in custody the children met and kept up the meeting themselves. In one instance, in London, the meeting-place was seized on behalf of the king as a guard house for his soldiers. At another London meeting-house the parish clergyman insisted on reading the English service there, but Friends only waited till he had finished to hold their meeting.

The governor of the Tower of London made himself conspicuous in this treatment of such places within his jurisdiction and had wrecked several before any check could be obtained against his proceeding, but when his men came to pull down one in Spitalfields they were told it was private property of a Friend, who was therefore ordered to attend at the Tower, and explain his conduct in having such an unlawful place. Now this Friend was just then away on some religious service in the far west of England, and the utmost favour attainable from the Governor was a delay of a fortnight in his appearance.

Gilbert Latey (the Friend concerned) had this news conveyed to him, but no threatened damage to any of his property would allow him unduly to hasten toward a conclusion of his religious service. However, it so occurred in its course as to bring him back to London just before the fortnight's expiration. Now he was shrewd as well as pious, and having moved in upper circles through his former business of clothier and outfitter at the West End, was acquainted with the rights of individuals as to Property.

He at once ordered some household furniture to be sent in to this threatened meeting-house, and having told one of his pensioners he must go to live there, had a lease of it to him legally prepared, and so soon as it was signed announced his readiness to go with his friends to see the governor in the Tower of London, who as soon as he saw Gilbert Latey reproached him violently for having broken the King's law in own-

ing a meeting-house, and although told he had had it before there was any such law, exclaimed such should not save it from destruction. "But," calmly interposed Gilbert, "I have a tenant there in possession, and one of whom I have so good an opinion that I have granted him a lease." "There, now you have me," said the baffled official, "and had your friends but had half your wits they would have saved their other meeting-houses." The fact being that by furniture, tenant, and lease the wary Gilbert had invested the meeting-house with the sanctity of a dwelling, which no royal proclamation or Act of Parliament has ever yet violated to deprive a subject of the realm from regarding his home as a castle—that not even a Governor of the Tower of London in a persecuting age dared to destroy.

The plan thus initiated by Gilbert Latey, was adopted by the Society, so that all their early meeting-houses were provided with sufficient household accommodation to enable them, in the eye of the law, to pass as a dwelling, and often their living rooms would be in the occupation of an educational Friend, who would use the premises as a school-room during the week. The early chapels of Nonconformists adopted generally similar arrangements, and when one of the earliest of these, in a London suburb, was pulled down some years ago, there were discovered some forgotten chambers in the roof that had served this purpose in days of peril to such property.

A great many Friends' meeting-houses remain in country districts, especially in Yorkshire, mostly in-

tended for but small congregations, with living-rooms under the same roof at one end. Such is the one George Fox gave to the Friends of Swarthmore, to which he bequeathed his ebony bedstead, table, and chairs, desiring that such might furnish a chamber for any travelling minister on his visit. It was no doubt intended as an example that was very generally followed in these country meeting-houses.

CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD AND HIS SERVICE.

“Loyalty to the State is impossible without conformity to the State form of Religion.”

THE accession of William and Mary to the English throne in 1688, inaugurated an Era of Constitutional Government that ensured to all loyal and peaceable subjects a freedom for worship according to their own conscientious beliefs, and not as the Law might direct.

It was a lesson government and statesmen had been slow to learn, that uniform loyalty could be secured without uniformity of religious practice—but the granting this liberty to Friends presented special difficulties on account of their refusal of the Oaths of Allegiance having raised doubts as to their loyalty. It needed much negotiation before some compromise could be effected in the form of a Declaration sufficiently solemn to satisfy the authorities, and also sufficiently free from any approach to swearing as not to offend the consciences of Friends.

The working of democratic bodies seems favourable to someone being found in each emergency gifted to steer the course, and the Friends throughout their long and chequered career have never failed in having at such times an able leader or counsellor—which George Whitehead so truly became in the conduct of these affairs that some personal details respecting him may be given.

He was by birth—like so many other of the early Friends—a North countryman, and had become whilst yet in his teens, one of the sixty earnest preachers. He travelled at first in the Eastern counties, where his ministry by its success caused great sufferings to himself and his companions in the persecution that envious professors raised against them.

This was borne with unflinching courage : he sang psalms whilst publicly and cruelly scourged, argued ably with opposing divines, endured patiently long and hard imprisonments, and in all acquitted himself as a man of an upright and undaunted spirit.

After some years of these missionary experiences he married and settled into a grocery business in Houndsditch, where he continued so constant in attending Friends' meetings through the hottest seasons of persecution as to be in the wont of putting his night-cap in his pocket when he left his home, expecting no other results than to find himself at night a prisoner in some city jail.

His many imprisonments, numerous trials in law courts, pleadings before judges, magistrates, and others, were all experiences which, in one of his great natural ability, enabled him the better to become an intercessor with those in authority on behalf of others, in which he was of much assistance to his Friends. For this purpose he had on various occasions sought the presence of Charles the Second, both at the head of his council and when among courtiers in the palace grounds, and had been able to return the royal pleasantries without

offence to dignity or losing the serious aim in view. On one such occasion the officials, affronted at their hats, were for denying them admittance to the council chamber, but the King called out "Let them in as they are, their *consciencs* are in their hats," intending no doubt to give himself some further diversion at their expense, but George Whitehead, and the two Bristol Friends who were with him, succeeded, notwithstanding interruptions from members of the council, in pleading the cause of the sufferers for nearly an hour, until the King showed signs of being favourably impressed, and George Whitehead in his account of the interview, adds, "Blessed be the Lord God, who gave me power and boldness, and also counsel and wisdom to plead the cause of the innocent sufferers for His worthy name and blessed Truth's sake."

The severity and extent of their sufferings is shown by the fact that during the twenty-five years of Charles the Second's reign, 13,562 Friends were imprisoned in various parts of England, 198 were transported as slaves beyond seas, and 338 died in prison or of wounds received in violent assaults on their meetings.

Some 400 of these prisoners being confined for not taking the Oath of Allegiance could only be released by royal interference, and towards the close of his reign Charles was induced to issue an order for their release, in which the reappearance of a Friend who had helped him to escape when a fugitive, proved of assistance in gaining this royal favour. This Friend, Richard Carver, had been mate in the little fishing vessel in which

Charles, after his many wonderful and hairbreadth escapes, sailed for France, and he and his master alone knew the rank of the tall and swarthy stranger on board. Having, for fear of a vessel that seemed in chase, to run ashore in shallow waters, the mate took the King on his shoulders and waded with the heavy burden to land, receiving amid heartfelt thanks for his escape, an assurance from the King that if ever he came to the throne, the sailor had but to come there to receive his reward. Few of those who had assisted in the fugitive's escape through his many adventures, failed to do this, and, to the King's credit, they never had to complain of neglect. But Richard Carver's seafaring life kept him away from England for many long years, nor would he on his return have thought of going to Whitehall if George Whitehead had not seen in the circumstance a possible assistance towards obtaining that royal pardon, in which, with others, he was so deeply interested. The King knew the mariner again, and asked why he had not come sooner, and was told he wanted nothing for himself, as any help he could have given to one in distress left a peace that was its own reward, but he pleaded for favour towards his suffering friends.

It doubtless helped toward the issue at length of the "Order of Release," a bulky document, still to be seen in the Society's Archives, written on eleven large skins of vellum with the great seal of England attached, and a portrait of the King at its commencement. It contains the names of four hundred and ninety-one prisoners, amongst whom it is interesting to observe

that of John Bunyan, who with some others, not Friends, were by their assent included in this Royal Pardon they had at so much labour obtained.

It had to be presented at each Jail throughout the country. By having an official copy made, the labour in travelling was divided amongst some others, but George Whitehead took upon himself the largest share in this laborious service.

The relief at best was but temporary, for the Acts under which they had been imprisoned remained in force, so the Magistrates and Justices continued to convict: and during the short reign of James the Second neither the influence of William Penn's personal friendship with the King, nor George Whitehead's sagacious assiduity were able to effect permanent relief for tender consciences, who could neither conform to the State Worship nor take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.

Parliament opposed any exercise of a Royal Prerogative, by which also those Catholic interests might be promoted, to which it was believed Charles was secretly inclined, and James known to be openly pledged, so that no united action was possible for the relief of Nonconformists until a staunch Protestant like William the Third was King.

With him there was no difficulty in granting these full legal protection to life and property, and for their varied modes of worship if held with unbolted doors; but Friends had to assure Parliament of their being Christians, which George Whitehead and two others,

who appeared at the Bar of the House, found no difficulty in effecting. Yet even then, as before mentioned, negotiations were needed to convince the King that Friends were really a united or corporate body, or would be loyal to him if they were allowed to make a Declaration instead of taking an Oath.

Here, also, as with Parliament, George Whitehead was chief speaker in the Royal closet and chief agent in reconciling Friends to the use of that which the King had agreed to accept. But all this reviewed in so few words, conveys no idea of the long, continuous, and varied labour at Court and Parliament the settlement involved. And if any are desirous to be informed of the work effected by this Nehemiah of the Friends' society in obtaining for it the walls of legal protection, they should read his own narrative of it in the work called "Christian Progress," where they will find him acknowledging he was "daily sensible the hand of the Lord our God, that was with us in our industrious endeavours, made way and did work for us therein. To Him be the glory of all for ever."

George Whitehead lived on through the reigns of William and Queen Anne, ever working for the cause he had embraced as early as his 17th year, and though enfeebled with great age, was still its spokesman to welcome George the First to the throne, saying in his courtly tones, "Thou art welcome to us, King George. We heartily wish thee health and happiness. . . . We desire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocency, and that to live a peaceable and quiet

life in all godliness and honesty is according to our principle and practice." He again headed the Friends, when with deputations from other religious bodies, addresses of congratulation were presented on the failure of the Pretender's attempt, and assured the King, "His Friends were thankful at being able now to say he was George, by the *grace* of God, King of Great Britain, and that as men carried that saying stamped on the money in their pockets, so it was to be wished it might be imprinted in their hearts."

This was the fifth sovereign in succession he had addressed on behalf of the Society in whose interests he continued working till the close of his long life of 87 years. Content to gain his living as a tradesman, whilst proving himself a true gospel minister—an able disciplinarian, an astute controversialist, a skilful diplomatist and trusted councillor. The Friends of his own meeting in their memorial of him recorded as leading features of his character, "a gravity, wisdom, and abilities, beyond many in the Church of Christ."

From what has been narrated, no inference will be drawn that this accomplished administrator and diplomatist, who could interview successfully monarchs, bishops, lords, and great men, had had any special advantages from training or education, for he was but a city tradesman, in the far from aristocratic quarter of Houndsditch, and though it may seem beneath notice in any historical sketch, to allude to mere traditions, an exception may be made to one that still lingers in the neighbourhood of his dwelling, as to his conduct

towards a highwayman, who had robbed a Friend of his of £30. The sufferer had just come into George Whitehead's shop-parlour, whose window opened on to the yard of the Dolphin Inn, when he saw the man who had robbed him ride into it, and exclaimed "there he goes." Such seemed improbable to George Whitehead, who knew him as a fellow tradesman, but the Friend was so positive, that he went out, and quietly taking the horseman aside, said, "I will thank thee to give me the £30 thou took from my friend this morning, for he is come into my shop, and says he wants it, and if thou art in want of money look to me for help." Needless to say the money was given up, with an assurance, that this, his first, should be his last offence, to which only extreme necessity had driven him. Such may seem strange to those of the present generation, but at that time it was not uncommon for persons, and even gentlemen, to take to the road (as it was called), under monetary pressure, preferring to run the slighter risk of capture, to the certain loss of goods, or imprisonment for debt. At all events, according to tradition, George Whitehead by his tact recovered the money for his friend, helped his brother tradesman through his monetary difficulties, and saved his reputation by never mentioning the circumstance till after the delinquent's decease.

In closing this allusion to times of severe and long-continued trials through misgovernment and persecutions it may be observed that whilst many of the disaffected engaged in plots and insurrections, and adherents

of other Nonconformists were either dispersed or had gatherings but in secret, the Friends had kept themselves so clear from any political complications, and had always been so open in their meetings for worship that Robert Barclay was able on their behalf thus to address King Charles as to their loyalty and openness : " For that among all the plots contrived by others against thee since thy return into Britain there was never any owned of by any of our people, as we contend not for the kingdoms of this world, but are subject to every ordinance of man for conscience' sake ; and also that in the hottest time of persecution against meetings we have boldly stood to our testimony for God instead of creeping into holes or corners or once hiding ourselves as other dissenters have done, but met according to custom in the public places appointed for that end, so that none of thy officers can say they have surprised us in a corner, but were sure to find us in our open assemblies testifying for God and His truth."

CHAPTER X.

SCOTCH FRIENDS.

“In the mighty power of God go on preaching the Gospel to every creature and discipling them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. . . . Sound, sound the trumpet abroad ye valiant Soldiers of Christ’s Kingdom, of which there is no end.”

G. FOX (Epistles).

HITHERTO our attention in this rapid survey of the Friends’ history has been confined to the rise and progress of the Society in England alone, but now reference should be made to its spread in Scotland and Ireland, some parts of the Continent of Europe, the West Indies, and America.

In Scotland Friends have never been numerous, yet some amongst them have proved of such service to the Society at large, as seemingly to justify on these grounds—rather than on any numerical importance—the observation made by George Fox that he felt “the Seed of God to sparkle around him as his horse’s feet struck Scottish soil.”

These individuals were for the most part citizens of Aberdeen, and some of them in high official positions at the time of the change in their religious convictions.

Alexander Jaffray was its chief magistrate, in such esteem as to have been chosen one of the Commissioners to arrange with Charles the Second, in

Holland, on behalf of the Scotch Parliament, the terms on which he should return to his father's throne. By uniting with Friends, Alexander Jaffray lost all his magisterial and civic appointments, and experienced a full share in the bitter persecutions raised by the Presbyterian ministers, who denounced them from their pulpits as a people "demented, distracted, and devil possessed," fit only to be rooted out as "blasphemous deniers of the true Christ, of Heaven, Hell, Angels, the Resurrection of the body, and Day of Judgment," a sect, who by their practice of declining to give that honour to the magistrates, or to take oaths, were, in the opinion of these divines, "destructive of all good government."

Strange language and conduct towards those who could number amongst them characters with a piety so pure and fervent as was shown by Alexander Jaffray, who in his enforced retirement from all public honours, suffered in much patience this persecution for righteousness sake, and came to his life's close in great peace, firm in his religious principles to the last.

Conspicuous also amongst these Aberdeen Friends is the grand personality of old *David Barclay*, the Laird of Ury—one of a thousand for height of stature, bodily strength, courage, and manly beauty, renowned as a soldier and commander, in warlike conflicts, at home and abroad, chiefly in the cause of the Stuart kings, to whom he was related through his marriage with one of the Gordons.

Experiences such as these, of worldly success, had brought so little of peace to his soul that he had left all

and retired to his estates, there to study for himself the New Testament, which made him in reality a Friend, before he had met with any prejudiced statement of their principles. On becoming acquainted with these he embraced their cause in all the nobleness and firmness of his character, and bore his full share in the obloquy and persecution which the change had brought upon him. It is said that at the first meeting of Friends attended by him, he was much impressed by these few words spoken by one present, "In stillness there is fulness, in fulness there is nothingness, in nothingness there is all things." This grand old warrior, whose sword 'twas said "few other men could wield," although unable now to ride through the streets of Aberdeen without scorn and insult, would regard such reproach, for Christ's sake, as greater honour than all the banquetings and processions with which the citizens had formerly been used to greet his official visits to their city.

Up the streets of Aberdeen,
By the kirk and college green,
Rode the Laird of Ury ;
Close behind him, close beside,
Foul of mouth and evil eyed,
Pressed the mob in fury.

Yet with calm and stately mien,
Up the streets of Aberdeen,
Came he slowly riding ;
And to all he saw and heard,
Answering not a bitter word,
Turning not for chiding.

WHITTIER.

Undaunted in suffering as he had been valorous in martial strife, he held meetings in his own Castle, and attended those of his friends in the City, took quietly the spoilings of his goods and cattle for fines, and allowed neither rank nor age to spare him from some share in their grievous imprisonments, until his long and eventful life closed in peace, at the age of 77 years. A grandson has told how impressive was his reverent attitude in prayer, when contrary to the Presbyterian mode of *standing*, it was his practice to *kneel* down, and removing his hat with one hand, and his black cap with the other, present himself with bare head and bowed form, in earnest pleadings at the Throne of Grace.

His son, *Robert Barclay*, who joined the society at the early age of nineteen, possessed great mental power, heightened by an excellent education, and became a chief exponent of Friends' views, in his well-known *Apology*, addressed to King Charles, showing how consonant their doctrines were, both to Scripture and right reason.

It originated in some theological propositions, propounded by him when student at a Scotch university, to serve as the basis of a debate, in which he sought to clear Friends' views from false representations of them, made by professors and priests. Success in the controversy encouraged him to expand his argument into this treatise, which, though at first written and published in Latin, soon took its English form, in which it has passed through very many editions, and become a standard

work amongst Friends, as a calm, clear, and logical exposition of their views of Christian doctrine.

Robert Barclay is personally remembered as one of a sweet, pleasant, and cheerful temper, combined with much public spirit. Quick was he of understanding ; sound, solid, and comprehensive in his writings ; beloved also by all who knew him, great and small, for whilst mixing on terms of easy familiarity with persons in the highest walks of life, or discoursing on deep subjects with others of the most learned sort, he was ever ready to make plain the truths he loved, to any in humbler circumstances, or to those but little acquainted with school learning.

His greatly lamented death from a fever, when only in his forty-second year, left seven children fatherless ; and from these are descended the various lines of Barclays that became, and yet remain, so influential in social and commercial life.

Patrick Livingston is a name that should not be passed over without mention of his having been a minister amongst the Scotch Friends, who so truly waited before the Lord, for authority to speak, that when the spring of life opened, his discourses would strike his hearers with awe, at their divine unction and power. It was very much his commission "to call people to repentance, and to bring them out of their lifeless, hypocritical profession, and dead formalities, wherein they were settled in the ignorance of the true and living God."

Whilst the Aberdeen Friends had amongst them

those high in social rank and scholastic attainments, such as the Barclays, the Jaffrays, George Keith, Alexander Skene, and others, their membership included many of the humbler sort, amongst whom *George Gray* is remembered as a weaver, who, though he had had no educational advantages, was a minister amongst them, with so excellent a gift, and with such a knowledge of Gospel Truths as contained in Holy Scripture, that it is said his most critical opponent in any doctrinal controversy could never find him wrong even in a word. He worked diligently at his trade, yet found time for much public service in the Gospel, and endured with great patience and cheerfulness, a long imprisonment for the part he had taken in attending meetings, being one whom no persecution nor spoiling of his goods could deter from following out his religious convictions.

George Keith, another member of this Aberdeen group, was a strong contrast to George Gray, as he had had a distinguished university career, where he was a fellow student with Robert Barclay, and united with him in a debate on Friends' principles whilst at the university.

His scholastic attainments, which obtained for him a degree as Master of Arts, enabled him to acquire some reputation as a schoolmaster, which profession he followed with similar success on emigrating to America, where however he became dissatisfied with Friends, and changed from having been an earnest and able advocate of their principles, into a bitter controversialist

against them, and after doing all he could to oppose the Society, both in America and England, ended his days as the clergyman of an English country parish, where, it is said, he was also unable to live on good terms, even with his own parishioners.

Andrew Jaffray (son of Alexander), like his father, attached himself to the little company of Friends at Aberdeen, amongst whom he became greatly esteemed for his ministry, which they record as having been "sound, bold, and perspicuous in doctrine and argument, delivered with a clear, full, and penetrating utterance." Himself a gentleman by birth, and a scholar by education, he worshipped in loving fellowship with the group of mechanics and little tradesmen, animated by the same convictions, and freely shared with them long and cruelly severe imprisonments, which were inflicted for no other cause than the holding these religious meetings and absenting themselves from the public worship. "The magistrates (writes Robert Barclay), stirred up by the malice and envy of our opposers, have used all means possible (and yet in vain) to deter us from meeting together, and that openly and publicly in our own hired houses. For that purpose both death, banishments, imprisonments, finings, beatings, whippings, and other such devilish inventions, have proved ineffectual to terrify us from our holy assemblies, and we having thus oftentimes purchased our liberty to meet by deep sufferings, our opposers have taken another way, by turning in upon us the worst and wickedest people, yea, the very offscourings of men

who by all manner of inhuman, beastly, and brutal behaviour, have sought to provoke us, weary us, and molest us, but in vain. It would be almost incredible to declare, and indeed a shame, that among men pretending to be Christians, it should be mentioned what things of this kind eyes have seen, and I myself, with others, have shared of in sufferings. There they have often beaten, cast water and dung, danced, leaped, sang, and spoken all manner of profane and ungodly words, jeered, mocked, and scoffed, asking us if the Spirit was not yet come, while we have been seriously and silently sitting together and waiting upon the Lord."

Subjected to these indignities, it does not cause surprise to find that two such gentlemanly and refined natures as Andrew Jaffray and Robert Barclay, were each at different times led to make of themselves a spectacle to the persecuting Citizens, by walking stripped to the waist through the streets, the one with sackcloth and ashes on his head, and the other holding of the filth that had thus been cast upon them, in his hands, each uttering woes and judgments on the City if such course of insult and oppression were persisted in.

These personal appearances, by way of a sign like the prophets of old, are not forgotten to be brought forward by those who reproach the early Friends with fanatical practices ; but they never ought to be mentioned, as they mostly are, by such, without due remembrance of the state of public feeling at the time, and the shocking indignities and brutalities an excited populace had inflicted on these peaceable citizens. The appear-

ances of high bred gentlemen in such a condition might be expected to have had more effect of shaming them into propriety, than of offering any shock to those unacquainted with our modern ideas of social proprieties.

It seems that amid their trials and long confinements in loathsome prisons, all were favoured with remarkable health, and Andrew Jaffray would tell how on one occasion, when thus shut up in dark cellars under the Court House, such a pentecostal time of prayer and praise fell upon them, that those of the Town Council above said one to another, "O how astonishing it is that our Ministers should say, *the Quakers have no Psalms in their Meetings*, for such an heavenly sound we never heard in either old or new Church."

Nowhere more than among Scotch Presbyterians was religious doctrine reduced to rigid forms of belief, so that it is easier among these Highland controversialists to discern the chief points at issue between them and Friends. One of these to which Friends made objection was the Presbyterian statement, "That God from before the foundation of the World predestinated some men and angels to destruction, and others to life everlasting, and that the numbers are so fixed or definite that none can be added to the one nor diminished from the other," contrary (as Friends said) to the Apostolic declaration, "God willeth all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the Truth." Then again these Presbyterians held "that no mere man, neither of himself nor by any grace given, is able to

keep the commands of God, but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed," in opposition to which the Friend believed true faith and trust in the Saviour made him partaker in His divine grace, whereby successful resistance could be given to the enemy in all temptations.

He arrived at this through a deep baptism of spirit, and felt a judgment against all sin to the loss of self-trust or any sense of imputable righteousness, which as patiently endured, had been succeeded by the dawning in his soul of true life and power over the evil tendencies and weaknesses of human nature. All this rested on Christ and His work in the soul ; with whom was neither restriction of time or place, nation, rank, sex, or age—"Ye are all one" in this Grace—was Friends' assured conviction—in opposition to the bounds set by the theological propositions of Presbyterian Divines. The Friends felt Judgment *within* instead of looking for it without, and gazed not so much on an outward and imputable righteousness as witnessed its operation in themselves.

Seeing the remarkable instances Scotland thus presents of their fervour and firmness, it may seem strange that as a permanent Society the Meetings have never been many nor their congregations numerous. This may receive some explanation in the large share Scotch Friends have taken in the emigration to the North of Ireland, and especially to the Settlements of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys in North America.

CHAPTER XI.

IRISH FRIENDS.

"The Lord hath a seed in Ireland—Keep your Meetings in the fear of the Lord, and you will see the Lord amongst you and His presence refreshing your hearts." EDWARD BURROUGH.

TO this country some of the sixty early preachers went, finding much acceptance, especially in the Northern Districts inhabited by Presbyterians and Baptists of English and Scotch extraction, of whom many became adherents to the Society, and as the settling of these into an organized community resulted largely from the gospel labours of William Edmundson, some particulars of his life and ministry may be here given.

He was by birth a native of Westmorland, and served for a while in the Parliamentary Forces, but becoming deeply affected with the truths of religion, quitted the Army, that he might engage in some industrial occupation more congenial to such convictions. He now married and removed into Ireland, where his business quickly prospered, and in the course of it, having to come to England, he there met with some of the Early Friends, whose views of gospel truth he found so accordant with his own convictions

that he returned to Ireland and at once put them into practice. He declined all oaths, though it interfered with his trade, as such were then needed to pass goods through the Customs. Nor could he give what he considered vain compliments, though it occasioned misunderstandings with relatives and acquaintances. He also commenced holding meetings at first in his own house, which were mostly but small and times of awful silence, yet they were comforted in a sense of the Divine Presence, and found their numbers increase by the accession of earnest seekers after truth. Amongst these William Edmundson was led out in the ministry, which beginning but in few words uttered in fear and trembling, developed in the course of his long and active life into a large and powerful gift.

This little meeting had not long existed before Ireland was visited by several of the early preachers whose travels and ministry met with such great results in the number of adherents gained as to raise violent oppositions against them, and Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, who had spent six months of incessant gospel labour in the country, were ignominiously expelled as "vagrants." In vain was it that they asked of the Authorities—"who is it of whom we have begged? To whom have we been burdensome? or whose bread have we eaten for naught? or what evil have we done?" These earnest labourers in the Gospel Harvest Field received from the harshness of the rulers a treatment given only to vagabonds, though they had travelled at their own expense and could challenge their bitterest

enemies to prove any act or deed contrary to an in-offensive and peaceable behaviour.

“We came,” writes Edward Burrough to these Dublin Officials, “into this land of Ireland by virtue of command given unto us by the Eternal Spirit of the Lord, contrary to the will of man, not to prejudice your Government, but with the message of the Gospel of Christ Jesus. We came to turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the power of God, and to minister the word of reconciliation and salvation freely (without gift or reward) unto lost souls, and this we are ready to seal with our blood.” They were nevertheless put out of the places of worship and banished from the towns, but this intrepid Evangelist with stentorian lungs preached through the streets of Limerick on horse-back, as they led him along. Being thus put out of the country, he addressed his dear Friends in communications so loving and judicious, as show by their perusal, how one, who for his bold utterances, was known as a “Son of thunder,” could be also to the tender-hearted a “Son of consolation.” “Everyone of you,” he writes, “having a measure of light from Christ the Saviour, unto this you are to take heed only, and it leads to Christ to receive Him and be joined to Him,” with the result, as he proceeds to show, of triumphing through His power over sin in this present life by a growing “unto perfection and completeness in Jesus Christ.”

Although the Authorities might succeed in banishing these, others came, and a succession of earnest

Missionaries followed one after another in travelling throughout Ireland, many of them women Friends, not to be deterred by reproach or suffering, but much cheered through large accessions to their views, and at times gaining favour even with the Authorities, for their word was with power, and its effects seen in a consistent and peaceable life in those who accepted their teaching.

As some indication of the sufferings involved, it may be noted that for speaking Truth in Steeple-houses, Markets, and other places,

Ninety-four Friends endured whippings, stocks, imprisonment and loss of goods.

Nineteen were imprisoned for meeting to worship God in their own houses.

Twelve were stopped in streets and on highways while about their lawful occasions, and committed to prison.

William Edmundson was one who gave up much time to travel with these Friends, and the settlement of meetings after their departure rested so much upon him that his name is closely associated with the rise and progress and consolidation of the Society in Ireland, of which a full account may be found in his published Journal. He there mentions his first meeting with George Fox during one of his visits to England, whom he found at a largely attended conference of Friends in Leicestershire. George Fox, hearing who he was, and that he was desirous of some consultation on the state of Friends in Ireland, went

aside with him into an orchard, where their converse concluded by kneeling down together in earnest prayer under one of its fruit trees. It was by such men and in such dependence on Divine guidance and power that the Society rooted itself in the British Isles. Each section of it in England and Ireland adopted its own organization, but these have ever worked in as much fraternal harmony as when the two respective leaders knelt in prayer under the apple trees of that Leicester orchard more than two centuries ago.

William Edmundson has been described as possessing great share of natural parts, though but of a mean education, plain in his style of preaching but greatly gifted in unfolding the mysteries of the Kingdom of Christ, and somewhat austere in manner, but loving withal. His service in the Gospel led him into most extensive travels, in the course of which he made *three* voyages to America, where his hardy constitution bore him through severe trials in exposure to dangers, hunger and cold by sea and land. Very careful was he to avoid being burdensome to his Friends by making arrangements for his family and outward affairs during these long absences. In all things watchful to give none cause of offence, and even to old age laborious for their spiritual welfare, he came to his close in his 85th year, with a thankful sense of "peace with God, unity with his brethren, and good-will to all mankind."

Living in a country like Ireland where political and religious parties are ever at strife, and the nation often the scene of long continued and sanguinary wars,

it has been the lot of Irish Friends to exemplify in a very practical manner the Society's testimony, that all war is unlawful to a Christian. It has been upheld by them faithfully and fearlessly amid the shock of contending forces, and also in the midst of the horrible disorders occasioned by ruffianly bands that took advantage of the unsettled state of the country, to roam about, marking their track with pillage and murder and grievous desolations of property and homes.

Dwelling thus as in a furnace of affliction, amid rage of battle and storm of lust and rapine, the Friends, faithful to their principles, found a preservation for their *lives*, like the three brethren of old in the king's burning fiery furnace, for He Who walked with those therein so ordered it amid these perils, that they could look back, when all was over, in thankful admiration of the marvellous deliverances of life they had known, when certain destruction seemed to have threatened them. The case of John Clibborn may be quoted as an example. He had kept open house to all, and was a succourer to many, both Friends and others, and in times of great skirmishes and slaughter he did not flee. At length, plundered and quite spoiled in his outward substance by the Rapparees, he was dragged out by the hair of his head, his tormentors threatening to kill him, but though they burnt his house, even here no life was lost; property and substance were wasted, but their "*lives* were given them for a prey." In reference to which trials, Gough, in his history, records as "remarkable that through the whole of this season of danger and tumult

they kept up their meetings for worship and discipline in their accustomed manner, without much interruption or disturbance from either party, although they often went to distant meetings through great perils, by reason of the Rapparees, who in many places beset the roads in ambush to rob and murder the passengers on their way ; but they, resorting to their meetings in faith, and under persuasion of duty, were mercifully preserved and their fidelity rewarded with inward consolation, peace of mind, and an increase of spiritual strength ; and they gained ground in religious experience, in the number of their members, and in the public esteem, through their innocent, stedfast, and sober deportment in the Fear of God."

Irish Friends generally are descendants of settlers in that country from England and Scotland, during the days of the Commonwealth, when colonists went over to re-people the districts desolated by the wars ; most of them had previously been in membership with other non-conforming communities, for neither had the early preachers much acceptance with the Catholic inhabitants, nor has the Society acquired any increase in after years from that source. It seems to need the passing through various stages of non-conformity, before a Catholic can appreciate the doctrinal views of Friends.

An instance of how a member of the Church of England joined them is that of *Thomas Braddock*, who deterred for a while from going to their meetings by thinking Friends mistaken in "denying the two great

seals of the Covenant of Grace," was surprised on his going there, to be seized, during a time of silence, with such power from the Lord, as to fetch forth many deep sighs and groans with tears, and a trembling so that he was forced to take hold of the seat to keep himself from falling ; but as he resigned himself to the Will of the Lord the shaking and trouble abated, and he sat pretty quiet until the meeting ended. When his wife asked him, on his coming home, if he had heard any preaching whilst there, "Yes," he said, "and the best of preachers, even the Holy Jesus Himself." Needless to say his prejudices vanished, and in a membership with Friends he felt true Christian fellowship and a communion of his soul with his Saviour to the end of his days.

John Dobbs was another instance, and the change in his religious convictions was further attended with the loss of all prospects of advancement in worldly honour, and also of an inheritance in his father's property that would have enabled him to live at his ease, but he "studied medicine and sustained himself by a successful practice, avoided popularity, and cared not how little noise the world made about him, so that he enjoyed peace with God ; and as he lived, so he died, in strict unity with Friends."

As an interesting poof of how much of zeal and disinterested labour can be shown by ministers in a society that offers no pecuniary recompense for gospel service, it may be mentioned that during the first hundred years of Irish Friends' history, they received visits from some 550 men and women Friends, ministers

from England. James Dickenson was twelve times travelling amongst them, Benjamin Holme six times, and John Fothergil four.

These Irish communities had, like the English much cause to be thankful for the consistent work and effective ministry of many of the women amongst themselves, such for example as *Elizabeth Jacob*, who was widely known in this service, which was attended with great reverence and tenderness to the reaching the hearts of her hearers. She was of a sweet and cheerful spirit, a good example to all in life and conversation, and her case is illustrative of many more.

Preserved amidst peril of life, and faithful to their principles throughout grievous and lawless times, to the endurance of great spoilings of outward substance, Irish Friends were also found anxious so soon as prosperity succeeded to scarcity, lest the pursuit of wealth should endanger in a rising generation the maintenance of that simplicity formerly professed. Their zeal against a spirit of covetousness and indifferency in Truth's service, not only received commendation from some who visited them, but was shewn in the establishment of disciplinary regulations, in rules and queries fully as complete and much the same as those of English Friends, which have been enforced by them with like care for impartiality and perseverance.

The Friends in Ireland are at this time distributed in 37 congregations, with a total of nearly 2,700 members. These send representatives once every four weeks to twelve monthly meetings, which again are represent-

ed at three quarterly meetings, and the whole Irish society, like the English, meets once a year in Dublin, in a General Representative Gathering, which they used to call a National Assembly. It is independent of the one in London held shortly after, to which however it sends a Deputation of fraternal greeting ; and harmonious action has ever been observed between what are now both called “ Yearly Meetings.”

CHAPTER XII.

FRIENDS IN HOLLAND, GERMANY, AND THE WEST INDIES.

“Having heard of great things done by the mighty power of God in many Nations beyond the seas, whither He hath called forth many of our dear brethren and sisters to preach the everlasting Gospel . . . our hearts are filled with tender love to these precious ones of God, who have so freely given up . . . their friends, their near relations, their Country and Worldly Estates, yea, and their own lives also.”—A GENERAL EPISTLE OF 1658.

WHAT is on record of the early Christians going “everywhere preaching the word,” may be taken as descriptive of the zeal with which the Friends’ Missionary Band dispersed themselves in all directions, not only over the British Isles but to far-off countries, whither their journeyings must in those days of difficult travel have been attended with great privations and many perils by land and sea.

So early as 1660—within ten years of the rise of the Society—there is mention made in a General Epistle of that year “of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas in several parts and regions as Germany, America, Virginia and many other places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, and Newfoundland,” through all which this early document further observes, “Friends have passed in the

service of the Lord " probably in no great number, but singly, or a few at a time, and of their gospel labours in most of these places, little or no record now remains, but as a list of the cost for Outfit and Travelling expenses has been preserved, its amount of £490 (a large sum according to the value of money in those days) shows the extensiveness of a service, in which it is to be remembered there was no *personal* remuneration connected with its performance.

The men and women Friends thus journeying afar would find fellow countrymen in most of these countries living there in exile, or as prisoners of war, or taken captive by the piratical cruisers that in those days infested the seas. They would also have access through interpreters to the natives and their rulers ; some of them had conference with a Doge in Venice, and Cardinals in Rome. One of them under arrest for speaking his message in public died in the dungeons of the Roman Inquisition. The Great Turk was more noble, having graciously received to public audience a woman Friend, at whose boldness in coming so far alone he much marvelled, and of whose message he owned to have felt it was the Truth, and acceptable as given her to speak from "the Lord God." Two other women Friends found the Catholics of Malta more bigoted than the Mahometans of Turkey, and suffered four years of grievous imprisonment at the hands of the Inquisition in Malta, from which they could get no release, until the sympathies of a Cardinal, then resident in England (and well acquainted with some of

the London Friends), were gained to intercede with the ecclesiastical authorities on their behalf.

Much of this service in foreign lands was attended with a distribution of Pamphlets and Books, some written in Latin as a means then generally in use for communication with the learned, others in the current languages of the time ; for the Friends' zeal made large use of the facilities printing gave for the dissemination of their principles, and for answering controversialists that opposed them. These general observations as to the Society's Foreign Service may serve to introduce more special mention of their proceedings in Holland, Germany, the West Indies, and especially in North America.

HOLLAND AND GERMANY.

In the times of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties much sympathy existed between the Reformers in England and their brethren like-minded on the Continent of Europe, especially in Holland and parts of Germany, which countries had become asylums for those oppressed by the Catholics, as also for Puritans and other Dissenters, when the Anglican Clergy dealt hardly with them. Amongst a few of these still remaining at the rise of the Friends' Society, their earnest-minded ministers in travelling thither found acceptance, as also amongst the Continental Baptists, which success is especially observable in the case of William Ames, who, knowing the German language,

could appeal in a direct manner to the hearts of his hearers. He had himself come out from being a Baptist preacher through meeting with Edward Burrough whilst serving as an officer in the Parliament Forces in Ireland, and forsaking a military life had entered with all the intrepidity of his nature on a gospel warfare, to which he brought natural abilities and spiritual attainments of no common order. His zealous labours in Holland brought on him persecution, in the course of which he suffered confinement for some time in the Bedlam of Rotterdam under a charge of being beside himself, and although he succeeded in convincing its magistrates of his own sanity and conscientiousness, it must be confessed some rash spirits who passed as his disciples could not be equally justified in their extravagances committed under the saying, "my Spirit testifieth." In Corisheim (a town not far from the City of Worms, in Germany), William Ames, by his ministry, gathered a notable community that unanimously migrated not long after to Pennsylvania, where they have formed a valuable element in its Friends' population, and were happily gone thither just before the French armies of Louis XIV. desolated their native land with fire and sword.

"Hail to posterity !

Hail future men of Germanopolis,

Let the young generations yet to be,

Look kindly upon this ;

Think how your fathers left their native land,

Dear German-land ! O sacred hearths and homes !

And where the wild beast roams,
In patience planned ;
New forest homes beyond the mighty sea,
There undisturbed and free,
To live as brothers of one family."

(From the Latin of Francis Daniel Pastorius, by J. G. Whittier.)

Pastorius acquired a great reputation for learning, and before his emigration, belonged to an intelligent and highly cultivated community of Pietists, but soon after his arrival in America joined the Society of Friends, and became one of its most able and devoted members. We shall meet with him again further on in connection with Slavery, against the iniquity of which he was one of the earliest to make a protest.

Before this exodus various other ministers from England had visited them, amongst whom were George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay, who in the course of their journeys held debate with some of the learned professors on theological subjects, and found in Elizabeth, grand-daughter of James the First and daughter of the ex-Queen of Bohemia, and some of her near relatives, those who favoured their company and cordially accepted their spiritual counsel. It was seldom any opportunity could be found for a more public promulgation of their views, as the right of meeting for worship in most of these Foreign States was so strictly reserved to the Form that had received its legislative sanction, but by enquiring in the places thus visited for any who had withdrawn from the public forms.



ELIZABETH, PRINCESS PALATINE.

and were seeking a better way for themselves, many deeply interesting gatherings, of the two or three or more in private dwellings, cheered the hearts of the visitors, and those that had thus at so much labour been sought out by them.

In Holland a Friends' meeting was settled at Amsterdam, that continued into the present century, and Sewel, one of its members, has the reputation of having written the first, and to this day, most complete History of the Society during its earlier periods.

WEST INDIES.

The possession of the Islands of the West Indies, has been a source of much warlike contest between the European Powers, and our country had then acquired less territory there than now, at the time of Friends' first visit to them. In consequence, their labours were chiefly directed to Barbadoes, which is a small but fertile island, that has always been in possession of the English, who settled there in 1625, and made it not only open to free colonisation, but a strong military station, and a place whither its criminals were sent to share in plantation labour with negroes imported as slaves from Africa.

Much interest speedily attended their ministry amidst this miscellaneous population, and many of the chief persons in the island were to be seen amongst those gathered at the numerous and large meetings, held with the general inhabitants, and also amongst the black population.

This interest, however, developed into opposition, when it was found that adherents to Friends' views declined any share in military service, or rendering contributions in aid of warlike preparations, and fears also arose lest their efforts to religiously enlighten the slaves, might cause them to rise for freedom against the white population.

As usual in these cases, the chief instigators to the troubles that ensued, were to be found amongst the clericals of the island, whose own social habits appear to have been of a character in little accordance with their sacred calling, but having the ear of the Governor, it was easy for them to raise an alarm amongst the authorities, lest peace and safety should be endangered by these new doctrines, which they denounced as subversive of the fundamental truths of Christianity, and also of the principles of all good government.

Grievous as these charges undoubtedly were, and great as was the commotion they at first occasioned, such turned ultimately to an advantage, by giving Friends an opportunity of clearing away many misapprehensions, through being called upon by the Governor (a man like Sergius Paulus, of a prudent mind) to state distinctly their views, before he would take any official action for their suppression.

In consequence, George Fox (who was then in the island), with others, drew up a document, which is so able and comprehensive a statement of Friends' belief in the cardinal truths of the gospel, and full acceptance of Holy Scripture, as to have been referred to ever since

whenever their soundness in the Christian Faith may have been called in question.

It is too long to give here, and is the less needed, as our subject is rather with their points of diversity, than agreement with their fellow believers. It will be found in George Fox's Journal (a new edition of which in two volumes at 5s. is just issued), and also in the Society's Book of Christian Discipline.

By this and other means open persecution was held in check, and those who joined Friends settled into regular congregations, not only in Barbadoes but in the much larger island of Jamaica; so that to this day may be seen Meeting Houses or Burial Grounds in various parts of the West Indies, some in ruins, others converted into dwellings, whilst the descendants of such as once worshipped in them must be sought for amongst the populations of America. Thither so general an emigration set in, that it stripped these parts of Friends, who left on account of their conscientious objection to support war, and their conviction of the iniquity of obtaining a livelihood by means of slave labour.

NOTE.—In connection with Dutch Friends it should not be forgotten how much they benefited by Steven Crisp's, of Colchester, frequent visits, for he was one of the clearest and most effective exponents of Friends' Doctrinals, and had learnt to speak German.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRIENDS IN AMERICA.

"The Seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea."—An utterance by Humphrey Norton, one of the first Friends who visited that great Continent.

THE Society of Friends has largely developed in the United States, where it became divided, about sixty years ago, into two nearly equal communities, in consequence of diverse theological views, through the one having adopted an Unitarian basis, whilst the other retains the original views of the Society, and is the body with which English Friends have continued to be in correspondence.

This orthodox section consists at the present time of twelve Yearly Meetings, with a total of 84,000 members, increasing latterly at the rate of about 2,000 a year. Each of these Yearly Meetings, though independent in itself, maintains with the other a friendly correspondence, and most of them are marked by an active and influential zeal in various kinds of mission and philanthropic work.

Looking backwards, Friends' history in America presents itself under a two-fold aspect, each of which requires notice, being in one case the spread of Friends' principles amongst colonists of various religious persuasions already settled there, and in the other

a founding of an entirely new State by William Penn, under the name of Pennsylvania.

These English settlements along the Eastern coast of America were founded at various periods by associations for the ostensible purpose of trade and commerce, under charters obtained from successive sovereigns, ranging in date from James the First to George the Second. Such royal grants gave powers of self-government subject to the British Crown, and throughout the great political and religious disturbances of those reigns, these colonies became a general refuge for the defeated or persecuted of all kinds—English, Scotch, and Irish, with Huguenots from France, Waldenses, Swedes and Danes, Moravians and others.

With all this mixed character in the emigrants, each province acquired a character of its own, those in the South favouring Episcopalian and Royalist principles, whilst the Northern ones were Nonconformist as to religion, and Republican or Democratic in their politics.

Between these lay the territories granted to Lord Baltimore, who, though a Roman Catholic himself, declared “that he would not directly or indirectly molest any settler, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of his religion,” and next to him were territories then in the hands of the Dutch, whose charter for what they called the New Netherlands, contained those principles of toleration for all forms of religion, that had contributed to Holland’s greatness. It caused their city of New Amsterdam to acquire that

cosmopolitan character which, under its present name of New York, has been so enormously developed.

Between these Dutch possessions and the Northern or New England States, was another haven of refuge in the province of Rhode Island, whither Roger Williams, a Baptist minister, led off those who could not accommodate their religious convictions to the rigid Calvinism of the Presbyterians and Independents of New England and Massachussets. All these Settlements were more or less in a growing and prosperous condition at the time when Friends from England travelled to make known their principles among them, and encountered hardships and sufferings which will have to be described with such brevity as the nature of the case will permit.

Interest naturally settles around parts where the struggle has been the keenest, and nowhere else did the Missionary Friends from England meet with greater opposition, or become subjected to grosser ill treatment than among the Presbyterians of Massachussets, even to the loss of the lives of some of them at the hands of the public executioner.

The first arrivals were two women Friends, who came from Barbadoes to Boston, where its authorities promptly subjected them to examination, and on discovering the nature of their principles, condemned the books they had brought with them to be burnt by the common hangman, and subjected their persons to brutal tests, in search of some evidence as to their being devil-possessed or witches in disguise, of which failing to

discover any signs, they were sent ignominiously away. Some more Friends arriving soon after, had to suffer close imprisonment without pen, ink, or paper, until the ship that brought them could be ready for its return, when they also were sent away. And to guard against further intrusions, it was proclaimed at beat of drum through Boston streets, that the heaviest penalties would be inflicted on all who should harbour in their homes any who promulgated these—to them—horrible doctrines. “God forbid,” said one of the preachers, “that we should tolerate errors. To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience is impious ignorance; religion admits of no eccentric notions.” By these methods had the Presbyterian settlers in New England succeeded in driving out Antinomians, Baptists, and all others who had opposed or failed in conformity to their own Church-order and doctrine, but they were now confronted, in these Missionary Friends, with a dauntless spirit of endurance under all they could inflict in grievous scourgings and cruel imprisonments. When banished under pain of death they returned, and were willing to suffer, and did, to the laying down of their lives, rather than desert the holy cause in which they were engaged.

Although the magistrates were able by these proceedings to deter captains of ships from bringing any Friends among their passengers to Boston, another missionary band were about to make a fresh entrance on American soil in a vessel of their own. There was a ship master in the North of England who, whilst building a small craft for himself, became a Friend,

and felt a divine intimation that the first venture, in which his vessel was to be engaged, would be one connected with the interests of the Society he had joined, and although he knew nothing of any particular line of service that would be called for at his hand, he brought his little ship up to the port of London, to communicate with the Friends there on the subject. He now found that at that time, five of those who had been expelled from Boston, were feeling they must at all hazards return thither, and that six others from different parts of the country were come to town, seeking some way of joining in this perilous service. The London Friends thought the arrival of this brother captain with his vessel, was a divinely ordered means at their disposal, and although the little "Woodhouse" seemed far too small for crossing a wide and stormy ocean with safety, they engaged it for this purpose. But the captain's heart greatly failed him as the time of departure drew near, and he would have forfeited the charter rather than set sail, if George Fox had not encouraged him to persevere, and so he says (in an account which this ship owner wrote of the voyage) : " I received the Lord's servants on board, who came with them with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm," and truly, as will be seen, there was the germ of the American Friends' Society enshrined in that little craft. The voyage took two months, and was conducted in an extraordinary manner. Throughout all the time it lasted they made none of the usual observations for latitude or longitude, but instead waited daily before the Lord, " Whose

power they felt leading the little vessel, even as it were leading a horse by the head," and they fared better than some much larger ships, from which they had parted company, and found themselves guided to friendly shores, for the land they first sighted proved to be New York, then in the possession of the Dutch, who unlike the Calvinists of Boston, welcomed all strangers. After leaving some of the Friends there, the little "Woodhouse" went on to Rhode Island, where, as one of the passengers wrote, "we were received with much joy of heart." His letter shows the spirit that animated these evangelists, for he adds : "The Lord God of Hosts is with us—the shout of a King is amongst us—the people fear our God, for His goodness is large and great, and reaches to the ends of the earth . . . take no thought for me . . . man I do not fear, for my trust is in the Lord . . . the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea," a confidence justified by events in the numerical status attained by the Society there, and the influence American Friends have exerted on their Brethren in older Lands.

The eleven who had come in the "Woodhouse" were joined by four who had arrived from Barbadoes, and this missionary band dispersed themselves throughout the American Colonies, quickly gaining converts to their religious principles, and settling meetings in various places, especially in Rhode Island, where the governor and most of the authorities became Friends. Even New England, with all its care over the sea-board, could not prevent an entrance of these earnest spirits

across the land frontiers, and the magistrates of Boston learnt that, notwithstanding their threatenings, Friends' principles were largely spreading in some of their towns, causing those who held them to withdraw from the public worship, and sit down in small companies or in one another's dwellings for silent waiting before the Lord. The ministers inflamed the authorities against them, and violent measures by fines, whippings, and imprisonments ensued, for the purpose of breaking up and dispersing these little communities. Laws also were passed for confiscation of property and banishment upon all who would not conform to the Presbyterian system; such methods had been successful with Antinomians and Baptists, and it looked as if the Friends might also become shattered and scattered by these severities. In this emergency the little missionary band freely exposed themselves to endure, for the cause's sake, all that the authorities could inflict, and four of them lost their lives in the result. When expelled, as they often were, they returned. When whipped till people cried out for shame, they bore it in patience declaring "their cords were no more to them than spiders' webs." When pilloried and branded, all was borne in patience, when ears were cut off the sufferers prayed forgiveness for their persecutors, and at last, when led to the gallows, these dauntless ones sang hymns in the fervour and spirit of the martyrs of old.

It is a long, very long and sad story, and more than the four would have lost their lives if news of these

barbarous executions of pious individuals had not reached Friends in England, who gained access to the King, and so roused his indignation that he commissioned one of them, who had been himself expelled, to return as his messenger with royal commands to stop "this vein of innocent blood."

Swiftly sped the vessel that carried this royally commissioned Friend, who arrived in Boston just as another one was about to be led to the gallows-tree.

On first confronting the Boston governor he was assailed with violent abuse for daring to return, and for entering into his presence with his hat on ; but so soon as the official learnt his commission, he bared his own head to listen to the King's commands, and (after retiring awhile to consult with a colleague) announced that they should be obeyed ; and thus no more Friends than these four were ever hung on Boston Common ; yet were the scourgings continued on their bared backs through the towns, and heavy fines and imprisonments inflicted until the authorities seemed all aweary of such scenes.

Probably they became assured that those they treated with barbarities worse than if they had been felons were not after all the "dangerous heretics" their ministers accounted them ; nor were their principles to be feared as subversive of government, but on the contrary could be regarded as productive of good, loyal, and peaceable folk, whose industry would be helpful to the country's advancement.

An American historian thus reviews these events :
—"We contemplate with horror the fires of Smithfield,

the dungeons and auto-da-fées of the Inquisition, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the penalties of the Star Chamber, but the un pitying and remorseless sentence of Endicott the Boston Governor, who on one occasion told his prisoner, ‘Renounce your religion or die,’ and the sanguinary denunciations of the General Court, fill us with equal dismay. That they who had preached such purity of life and conduct to mankind, that they who had been exposed to the terrors of persecution, and fled from it, that they, forgetful of their own precepts and the lessons of their own sad experience, should pursue to banishment and death almost every species of nonconformity, displays to us recesses in the human mind which point to a dark and unexplored labyrinth in its devious and impenetrable depths.” The Boston rulers considered Friends as suicides because they rushed on the sword themselves; “but,” continues Bancroft, “if so, those who held the sword were accessories.”

The subjects of this ignominious and cruel treatment were persons of high character, and some of them in a good position of life.

John Rous, who, after being several times whipped in public, suffered the loss of one of his ears, was a young gentleman, the son of a London merchant; he was afterwards married to one of *Margaret Fell’s* daughters. *Mary Fisher*, who underwent grievous scourgings and indignities, was a person in good circumstances, as well as of an undaunted spirit. She was the one whom the Sultan of Turkey had received with

such respect. *Mary Clark*, who was the first to suffer these public scourgings, was the wife of a London tradesman. *Humphrey Norton* had come from the North of England. As a reward for his gospel labours he had his hand branded with an H, as being a heretic in the estimation of these rigid Presbyterians. But the list of sufferers and nature of sufferings, which extended over more than thirty years, is far too long for citation in this brief survey. Of those who lost their lives, *William Robinson* was well educated and a London merchant. *Marmaduke Stevenson*, his companion, was a Yorkshire husbandman, who had left a wife and family in obedience to a Divine call. *Mary Dyer*, who went with them to the gallows, was a matron of unusual abilities and force of character. The sufferers had spent their last hours exhorting the crowds that gathered round their dungeons, and walked with radiant countenances to the scene of execution, but were prevented by beat of drum from further addressing those who accompanied them thither. On arrival there, *Mary Dyer* was at the last moment reprieved, through, it was said, a successful intercession of her son, but the other two died with words of joy and forgiveness on their lips. As a last indignity the bodies were denied to their friends for burial, being cast into a deep and watery pit by the gallows' side. *Mary Dyer* returned to her home in the neighbouring Province, but finding that these persecuting laws still remained in force, resolved to protest against them with her life, and this time the hangman's function

had its cruel course. *William Leddra*, another sufferer of the death penalty, bore an unexceptional character. *Wenlock Christison*, who, to encourage his Friends in suffering, had freely exposed himself to these savage laws, received likewise a sentence of death, and only by that timely arrival of the royal veto were the Boston magistrates saved from sacrificing this further victim to their religious zeal. Of *Mary Dyer*, it must further be remarked that she possessed a dauntless spirit which had been manifested on former occasions during her life, as she had been a prominent member in a community expelled from New England for their Antinomian views before she became a Friend. She is described as "a person of no mean extract and parentage, of an estate pretty plentiful, of a comely stature and countenance, of a piercing knowledge in many things, and pleasant discourse. So fit for great affairs that she wanted nothing that was manly, except only the name and sex."

"I passed," are the words of *Joseph Nicholson*, another member of this intrepid band, "through most parts of the English inhabitants and sounded the mighty day of the Lord which is coming upon them through most towns, and was at many of their public worship houses. I have received eighty stripes at Boston and some other of the towns. Their cruelty was very great towards me and others, but over all we were carried with courage and boldness, thanks be to God. We gave our backs to the smiters, and walked after the cart with boldness, and were glad in our hearts in their

greatest rage." These were the sort John Wesley wanted when he declared "Give me one hundred preachers who fear nothing but Sin, and desire nothing but God, and I care not a straw whether they be clergymen or laymen, such alone will shake the gates of Hell and set up the kingdom of Heaven upon earth!" Certainly a measure of the same power that animated and sustained prophets and martyrs of old must be attributed to these earnest men and women who despised shame, endured great afflictions and suffered even unto death lest the cause they loved should be uprooted and lost. Puritan historians have sought to excuse their people's conduct, but all impartial minds will find it difficult to avoid condemning, as harsh and unchristian, the treatment of the early Friends by New England Presbyterians.

If in a few instances there were one or two of the women Friends who acted strangely and went undressed through the streets or into assemblies, let it be taken as their form of protest against barbarities inflicted on themselves and their sisters by the authorities, whose common form of treatment, even for women Friends, was to have them stripped and flogged at the cart tail by the hangman through the streets of their towns. And whenever the zealous preachers seem harsh in the judgments they pronounced on their persecutors, let such be taken as given in the sense of solemn warnings from those whose last words were of forgiveness and prayers for their persecutors. If an apostle's spirit waxed warm when smitten, contrary to the law, what

surprise can be felt at strong words from the accused when savagely interrupted in their defence as these often were by a handkerchief or key thrust, at the judge's order, into their mouths.

Nor must it be forgotten that it was through these devoted men and women Friends freely exposing themselves to such indignities and deadly perils, by returning again and again after expulsion and banishment that the Society became rooted in New England soil. Their holy ardour diffused itself throughout the little communities which else would have become scattered under fierce persecution, if these had not rallied them to endure all that opposers could inflict, and would not be cast out. When the two who having been banished knew it was death to have returned were arrested at Boston, they said they had come to look "their bloody laws in the face," and to shame the magistrates into their repeal. Seventeen friends—seven of whom were women—accompanied them to the last scene, and one of these brought with her linen wrappings should the laws be enforced upon them—but even such attentions were denied to the dead, as before shewn, by the cruelty of the Boston officials, whose hearts were steeled by the harangues of their popular ministers to inflict for imputed heresy a death for which otherwise they could see no cause.

Although the King's interference checked further use of the hangman's halter, it did not prevent his services being in frequent requisition for publicly flogging any who returned after banishment, nor had

it the effect of preventing grievous sufferings inflicted by fines and seizures of goods, until a similar treatment was attempted towards some of the royalist settlers, when such a remonstrance came from the English Court as to put an end for ever to these Presbyterian methods of enforcing their Church-order and Discipline in the State under their control.

English Friends watched this struggle of their American brethren with feelings deepened by their own experiences, and not a few were led from time to time to go and share these trials with them. In 1671 George Fox with thirteen other Friends crossed the Atlantic for this purpose. He landed first at Barbadoes, and after good service there proceeded to America, where he attended a Yearly Meeting held at Rhode Island, to which great numbers came, and felt much profited by his wise and fatherly counsel. He found so much openness for Friends in this liberal-minded province, as to stay some time longer there "confirming the churches." Many of the wealthier sort joined the Society, even to the Governor and members of his council, for it proved to be a time of large conviction, and many Friends' meetings became settled throughout the various American colonies as a result of the zealous activity with which he and so many others travelled to and fro from one Colony to another for this purpose. Such labour of love cannot be sufficiently appreciated unless it is remembered how far distant these Colonies were from each other, being then separated either by vast extent of almost trackless forests, or only reached

through coasting voyages of an adventurous character.

It was whilst riding through these forests one of their party was thrown so violently from his horse as to be given over for dead by his companions, who thought the neck was broken, but George Fox coming up, set himself to work and succeeded, by ways he had possibly learnt as a herdsman, in wrenching the neck-bones into position so that the Friend was soon himself again, an incident that may serve to illustrate William Penn's remark, "I never saw him not a match for every service or occasion."

William Edmundson was one who had a full share in these travelling experiences. His high mental endowments and spiritual gifts, which we have noted in our account of the Irish Friends, marked him out for great influence with the higher class professors and those in authority, whose minds became by his statements of doctrine often cleared from previous prejudice, as for example, when, after having shewn Friends' belief in the Atonement and the Scriptures, he was asked "Where then is it that you differ from the ministers" : he replied, "They are satisfied with talk of Christ and the Scriptures, but we could not be satisfied without the sure inward divine knowledge of God and Christ, and the enjoyment of those comforts the Scriptures declared, and which true believers enjoyed in the primitive times."

As our further tracing of Friends' affairs on the continent of America will lead us away from these older settlements to one founded by themselves, it may be remarked, without indulging any vindictive spirit,

that in these New England settlements, where they were so barbarously treated for many years, most who had had a chief hand in the sufferings inflicted came to their end, either through some loathsome disease, distress of mind, or grievous or sudden disaster that called to remembrance the judgments of which the Friends who died at their hands had so earnestly warned them. The Colony itself also suffered more than any other when the French and Indian wars soon after occurred, so much so that it has been estimated New England lost before the victory had been obtained one in every twenty of her able-bodied population. "Never," remarks Cave in his Church History, "was any wicked attempt made against Christians but a divine vengeance was seen at the heels of it."

CHAPTER XIV.

FRIENDS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

“Within the Land of Penn, the Sectary yielded to the Citizen, and peaceful dwelt the many creeded men.”—WHITTIER.

“Without any Carnal weapon we entered the Land and inhabited there as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons, for the Most High preserved us from harm, both of man and beast.”—(Letter of an early settler.)

THIS Friends' Colony owes its origin to the settlement of a debt due by the Crown of England to William Penn, the son of the famous Admiral of that name, who for his valour and success in Naval affairs had been rewarded by lucrative offices and estates, and yet at his death left his son and heir a claimant on the Crown for £15,000, which in some way Charles the Second had become indebted to him.

It has ever been customary with Kings to discharge their sense of obligation to those who might have done them service, by grants of dignities or lands, and in this instance Charles found the son of his famous Admiral willing, and indeed solicitous, to acquire a Province in the Western World as a full discharge of his pecuniary claim. If extent of country were any indication of value, the King would in this instance appear to have greatly exceeded his indebtedness, by giving a territory as large as all England in settlement of a claim for fifteen thousand pounds.

It was, however, at this time in an unreclaimed condition, covered with forests; the hunting ground of roving Indians, except a few settlements of Dutch and Swedes, on the river Delaware that formed its eastern boundary.

It had formed part of an extensive territory, inclusive of the East and West Jerseys and New York, that had hitherto been known as the New Netherlands, but through the fortune of war, becoming transferred from the Dutch to the British crown, it enabled the king to make this grant to William Penn, which he desired should by its name retain a remembrance, both of its forests and its Founder, from which royal christening resulted that of Pennsylvania.

It could only be reached across more than 2,000 miles of stormy ocean, traversed at that time by vessels of but small capacity, which were often many months on the voyage. But William Penn's philanthropic mind embraced the opportunity it afforded, of exhibiting to the world a colony modelled on perfect freedom, both as to religion and government. "I eyed the Lord," he wrote, "in obtaining it, and desire to keep it, that I may not be unworthy of His love, but do that which may answer His kind providence and serve His truth and people, that an example may be set to the nations. There may be room there, though not here, for such an *Holy Experiment*."

In the progress of negotiations connected with this provincial investiture, William Penn had besides other helpers, a very good friend in James, Duke of York,

between whom and the admiral, his father, a close intimacy had existed, that was continued to the son, even after James had become king. But the course of events should not be further pursued, without some retrospect over William Penn's previous history, for he was a middle-aged man at this time, and had experienced many vicissitudes in the course of his life.

His father, Sir William Penn, was an admiral of high renown, his mother the daughter of an Amsterdam merchant, and their son William was born at their residence on Tower Hill, London, in 1644. He gave early promise by manly qualities and mental endowments, of more than sustaining the honours his father had achieved, and no efforts were spared to perfect him by education at school and university, together with training in camp and court at home and abroad. Through all was there a religious zeal which thwarted parental expectations of worldly honour. When sent to college he was expelled, on account of resistance to some new Ceremonials being required from the undergraduates; and when he was in London his father found him more often amongst the religious people than frequenting camp or court, and although by foreign travel and residence at foreign courts, he seemed for a few years to have become somewhat of a fine gentleman, it soon disappeared, to his father's disappointment, on meeting again with religious associates. Having estates in Ireland he sent William thither to manage them, and gave him such introduc-

tions to its rulers as would, he thought, ensure for his son an atmosphere of military and viceregal life, well calculated to promote his worldly advancement ; but here the youth met again, in an unexpected manner, the same friend who had first roused his religious enthusiasm at Oxford. This was Thomas Loe, a gentleman of good birth and university education, one of the few of that class who had joined the ranks of Friends, and become a powerful minister amongst them, not only in public discourse, but through the personal influence of a superior and cultivated mind.

William Penn had not seen him since his university days, but hearing he was travelling in Ireland and had appointed a meeting in Cork, near which city he was managing his father's estates, he went to it. It gathered in silence, but soon Thomas Loe arose with the words "There is a faith that overcometh the world, and there is a faith that is overcome of the world ;" on which he enlarged in so impressive a manner, that William Penn resolved to forsake all worldly ambition and unite himself with the Friends, to seek for that wisdom and peace no earthly honours could bestow. Heroic in religious controversy, as the admiral was in naval engagements, he was soon under arrest for propagating his new views, and when released and recalled home, bore himself most bravely and in great patience under a father's anger, carried to the extreme of being forbidden the house and cut off from his inheritance.

This left him dependent on the kindness of his new associates, and such little support as a fond mother

could secretly give, without awakening a jealous father's suspicions.

Such a man could not fail to become conspicuous in whatever circumstances he might be found. His first essay at authorship, was a treatise against what he thought were carnal views (too prevalent) of the Trinity, and called it "The sandy foundation shaken," for which, on the accusation of its being an heretical work, the Bishop of London had him confined for nine months in the Tower; but here he composed one of the most effective of his many publications, "*No Cross, no Crown*," and when remonstrated with by warm-hearted friends for following courses that only brought him trouble, replied he "scorned that religion which was not worth suffering for."

Released from this imprisonment, scarcely a year had passed before he was again under arrest, owing to his resolute conduct in attending Friends' meetings, which in those days of persecution were regarded as unlawful assemblies, and subjected whoever frequented them to fines and imprisonment. On this occasion, William Penn had formed part of the little company gathered in Gracechurch Street in front of their Meeting House premises, out of which they were kept by the city authorities, being determined no powers on earth should prevent their meeting for divine worship. They met in silence, but William Penn rising to address them was arrested with William Mead, who had also spoken there. Both stood their trial at the London Sessions. William Penn boldly demanded on what law the indictment



WILLIAM PENN.

had been framed against them. "On the Common Law," answered the Recorder. "Where is that Law?" He was denied its production, on which he replied "The Law which is not at hand to be shewn, is far from being *common* Law." Amidst exclamations and menaces from the bench, this intrepid young man of five and twenty proceeded with skill and learning, to plead for the liberty of the subject under the *fundamental* Laws of England, and when ordered out of Court by the irritated Judge, reminded the Jury that his case rested with them, they being his judges. Dissatisfied with their first verdict, "Guilty of speaking in Gracious Street," the Recorder heaped upon them a torrent of abuse. "We will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it." "You are Englishmen," said William Penn, who had been brought again to the Bar, "mind your privilege, give not away your birthright." "It will never be well with us," said the Recorder, "till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." At last the Jury, who had been kept without food or firing for *two days and two nights*, gave their verdict "Not Guilty." The Recorder fined them forty marks (shillings) apiece for their independence, and sent William Penn back to prison, for contempt of Court in not removing his hat. He has earned from historians great praise for this noble stand made by him for British freedom of justice.

His father, who was now very ill and wishful for a reconciliation, paid the fines inflicted on the Jury, and obtained his son's release, whom, on his dying bed, he

exhorted to persevere in his conscientious convictions, and left him his heir to a fortune of about £1,500 a year.

William Penn in joining with Friends came into close association with some of his own social rank, especially a family of Peningtons at Chalfont in Bucks—where he met with the accomplished and pious lady who became his wife. She was the step-daughter of Isaac Penington, a son of a Lord Mayor of London, who had married her mother, the widow of Sir William Springett, and as she was heiress to her father's estates, the newly wedded pair were able to settle in circumstances of much financial prosperity. In this domestic comfort William Penn passed many years of his life as a country gentleman, with a young family happily growing up around him, so that other than mere worldly motives must have influenced him to undertake the settlement of a province in the Western world, when he was become some forty years of age. He believed he should be gaining for his friends, still under harass in the old lands, a New Habitation with good prospects of prosperity, freedom and peace, in which he proposed that all of any nation, race, or colour should equally unite on the broad basis of civil and religious liberty.

He was already acquainted with these parts of North America through having become a Trustee, in connection with the purchase and settlement of the adjoining districts of East and West Jersey, and on gaining Pennsylvania as its sole proprietor, could with the more confidence issue proposals for emigration thither, which

met with such cordial response that ship masters became busy, at many an English and foreign port, in fitting out vessels for this purpose. These went, it is said, at the rate of one a week for years together, so that in *seven* years time William Penn's colony had become more populous than others of *forty* years' planting.

It was founded on the broad basis that the people themselves were to be the authors of their own laws, in a regularly constituted Assembly, that they might be free from the abuse of power, for "Liberty without obedience is Confusion — and Obedience without Liberty is Slavery." Associated with these admirable views of the Founder, it is interesting to find colonists writing that "our business in this land is not so much to build houses, and establish factories, and promote trade and manufactures that may enrich ourselves, (though all these things in their due place) as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness which God may delight in—to lay such lasting frames and foundations of temperance and virtue, as may support the superstructures of our future happiness both in this and the other world." And another Colonist wrote, "here we may worship God according to the dictates of the divine principle, free from the mouldy errors of tradition. Here we may thrive in Peace and Retirement in the lap of unadulterated Nature. Here we may improve our innocent course of life, on a virgin Elysian shore."

The colonists on arrival lost no time in agreeing on a form of government, by a representative Assembly

which, during a session that lasted three days, passed a series of laws in full accord with the liberal sentiments of their founder. All that held themselves in conscience bound to live peaceably in civil society, were to be left free as to religious faith and practice, so that they acknowledged one Almighty and Eternal God as the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World ; and amongst other and many good and sensible enactments, was a special provision for elementary education, which very shortly became both compulsory and free for every child in this prosperous colony.

During the first few years William Penn was content to be represented in its affairs by a Deputy of his appointment, but in 1682 he sailed in the ship "Welcome," to enter personally on his position of proprietor and governor. His arrival caused much enthusiasm, and among his first engagements was the selection of a site for the capital of his province. He found this on a level tract of land near the junction of the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, which, though at the time covered with forest, he perceived had a good soil, excellent air, with abundant springs of fresh water, whilst the river banks would ensure ample scope for wharves and merchandise. Here on a scale, rivalling in extent and resembling in arrangement Babylon of old, were his surveyors directed to lay out street and square for a new Metropolis of Brotherly Love, which in the names given to its rectangular streets of oak and walnut, beech and locust, chestnut, larch, or pine, conserves to this day a remembrance of its varied woodland condi-

tion, when first chosen by Penn for the now great city of Philadelphia.

No city in all America is so large as this in extent or population except New York, and with all its present commercial prosperity and historic associations connected with American Independence it fails not to cherish the memory of its Founder. In its State Museum is stored every relic or record it can obtain of him, and the superb edifice now approaching completion, for the use of its State Legislature is to have a statue of William Penn on the summit of its central tower, which is so lofty that his iron effigy will soar higher than the pyramids of Egypt, or the cross on the dome of St. Peter's.

Thus is the memory publicly exalted of one who at the time seemed to worldly-minded men unpractical and enthusiastic in his methods of settling Pennsylvania, especially when they learnt his resolution to build no forts, nor put trust in musketeers or cannon. 'You will soon,' said the merry Monarch, "be in the Indian's war kettle." "What are we to expect," exclaimed the agent of the Duke of York, "from such noddies that will have nothing to do with gin and gunpowder, and say that guns were invented, not to kill men, but hawks and wolves. Are *they* likely to extend our Conquests, to spread our Commerce, to exalt the Glory of the British name, and above all to propagate our most holy Religion. . . What can they promise themselves in settling among the fierce and

blood-thirsty savages of North America, but to be tomahawked and scalped, every man, woman, and child of them."

This naturally introduces an account of how William Penn behaved towards these natives, of whose blood-thirstiness both King and ducal agent had so unfavourable an opinion. It was one of his earliest efforts on landing, to seek an interview with them, and rowing up the river to the place appointed, he found large numbers of Indians, with their chiefs fully armed, waiting for him. These, on perceiving that neither he nor his friends had any weapons or military escort, laid aside their own bows and arrows, and gathered quietly in a wide semi-circle around this apostle of good-will and peace. Their king now put on a chaplet, that made sacred, in Indian minds, not only all persons present, but whatever might be agreed upon between them, and then requested the interpreter to advance and assure Penn they were now prepared to hear what he might have to say to them. It may be summed up in the words:—Equal rights and equal justice for both Indian and Colonist, all mutual wrongs to be settled by juries equally composed of Whites and Indians, and a free interchange of hospitality. "Good," said the Indian, as they grasped Penn's proffered hand, "let that be so between us as long as the Sun shall shine and the Rivers flow." From this memorable Conference, (the only Treaty it has been said made without an Oath and never broken), it has resulted that Friends and Indians have always

kept on good terms with one another, for when differences arose, care was taken speedily to end them in the manner thus described.

William Penn made them substantial presents on this occasion, and was careful, both as to himself and his friends, that in acquiring lands it should be by means of fair purchase, and a great many deeds of land-sales by Indians are still in existence ; but on this occasion his object was a treaty of goodwill, which both by himself and subsequent governors was renewed from time to time, and although at first not reduced to writing, (for the Indians said their memories were their records), yet in after generations parchment scrolls were introduced, which remain to this day subscribed with the dusky warriors' names, or their quaint symbolic markings, together with official signatures of Governors or Council.

"Our worthy proprietor," wrote a colonist, "treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought abundance of venison, &c.," and another settler, on looking back in his old age on these early times testified, "that as in other countries the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so contrary treatment hath produced their love and affection." Bancroft the historian writes,

New England sought safety by wars of extermination—the Dutch could never keep peace with them, nor were the adjoining colonies free from Indian hostilities and massacres, whilst the unarmed Friends breathing

peace and goodwill, knew not a drop of their blood to have been shed by an Indian. Other people rode to their worship armed, Friends went to their meetings without either sword or gun, having their trust and confidence in God."

Safe that quiet Eden lay,
When the war-whoop stirred the land,
Thence the Indian turned away,
From their homes his bloody hand.

WHITTIER.

A stately elm tree, under the shadow of which William Penn stood, long remained a treasured memorial of the site of this Treaty, and when at length it yielded to age, and the once woodland locality became busy with wharfage and shipping, a pillar of stone was erected by an historical society anxious to keep in remembrance the site of this memorable scene, which the picture by West has made so familiar to us by its engravings. This may be taken as a fair representation, for the artist was born near the place, and knew Indians from his childhood. One of his own ancestors, indeed, had accompanied William Penn on this memorable occasion, and is represented as with him in the picture.

This treatment of Indians as fellow men instead of savages, and with justice instead of "gin and gunpowder," accorded with the whole of William Penn's arrangements connected with the settlement of Pennsylvania. "The Nations (he observes) want a precedent, and because I have been somewhat exercised about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavour to establish a

just and righteous one in this province, that others may take example by it." And in doing this he gave free welcome to settlers of all religious persuasions, and refugees from all countries whatsoever, but always intended Friends should retain a leading power in the government, observing "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for *all* mankind, more *especially those of my own persuasion*, not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account."

During seventy years the followers of William Penn commanded this majority in the Legislative Assembly of the Province. And of that time it has been said "no spot on the globe could be found where number for number, there was so much virtue and so much happiness as among the inhabitants of Pennsylvania."

Of all the American States none was founded on a more philanthropic basis, nor had any other so rapid an increase in population and prosperity. It was also, during this time of Friends' control over the government, kept free from any embroilment in the surrounding wars, either with French Colonists or Indians. There was little of internal dissension to disturb its harmony, until the British Crown began to make demands on its legislature for war subsidies, in aid of expeditions against the adjoining French settlements, on which the Friends, finding themselves in a minority, withdrew from further management of State Affairs, and the History of Pennsylvania gradually merges in

that of the United States. Congress eventually bought out the proprietary interests of William Penn's descendants for £115,000. In the War of Independence, Friends conscientiously took no share, but suffered much obloquy, and some were banished or suffered imprisonment and other kinds of persecution, from assumed want of patriotism in not rising with others against the British Crown.

William Penn would like to have made a permanent residence in his Colonial possession, where he built himself a fine mansion, surrounded with ornamental grounds overlooking the river, but at the time of the Revolution, when the British Crown passed from James II. to William III., his chartered interests derived from the deposed monarch, were so seriously threatened as to oblige a return to England, and the new King being acquainted with the life-long friendship William Penn had had with James, was long before he could entertain a sufficient sense of his loyalty to confirm him in these Pennsylvanian possessions. Being at length re-assured as to them he again went thither, taking his wife and family, with full intention of a permanent residence among his friends and Colonists, who welcomed him back with every demonstration of joy.

But fresh difficulties arose, through the Home Government showing a disposition to merge all the proprietary settlements into possessions of the Crown, under an Act of Parliament, which necessitated William Penn's presence in England, for which he left, with

his wife and family, hoping for but a brief absence from his much-loved colony, yet he never returned there, for although successful in retaining his charter rights on account of his wise and liberal mode of government, he found himself beset with so many difficulties, and involved in such pecuniary responsibilities as to place him for awhile in embarrassed circumstances. No admiration for his general high and noble character can be truthful, without admitting he was too confiding in the honour of some who proved unworthy of his trust, and with all his talents and virtues, he had not that application to financial details, which might have saved his public spirited nature from the monetary troubles that impoverished his own estate, and left him, during the closing years of his life, dependent on his wife's jointure for support. "O Philadelphia," he wrote, "what hast thou not cost me in mental worries and pecuniary losses. I cannot but think it hard measure in that while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me—by whose means it was principally made a Country—the cause of grief, trouble and poverty."

William Penn was twice married. His dear Guli, the wife of his youth, died in 1693, in her fiftieth year, and her eldest son, Springett Penn, a youth of much promise, died not long after. She was a lady of high birth and great virtues, and, as her afflicted husband said, "a public as well as a private loss." He married, for his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, of Bristol, in 1696, who also became the mother of a family, and

proved in all respects a true helpmeet to her husband, whom she accompanied on his second visit to America. On their return she was of much assistance in helping him through financial trials, and during his latter years, when greatly enfeebled with age, cared for him and his affairs with devoted affection and great administrative skill. She survived his death in 1718 by eight years, and lies buried in the same grave as her husband, in the rural burial ground of Jordans, where rest so many other of the worthies who used to gather for worship in its ancient Meeting House.

William Penn's mental powers, which had been so remarkable, greatly failed him during his latter years, and incapacitated him from attending to his own affairs, but to the surprise of his friends he could still take part in ministry at meetings, and never lost his cheerfulness of spirit or sweetness of disposition. In the memorial notice they wrote concerning him, he is described as "a man of great abilities, of an excellent sweetness of disposition . . . learned without vanity, apt without forwardness, facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious, of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition, as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity, a man, a scholar, a friend . . . whose memorial will be valued by the wise and blessed by the just." He was of a tall and portly frame, inclined in later years to corpulency, which he kept under by exercise; very neat in all his personal habits and dress; the gentleman being well



JORDANS BURIAL GROUND.

preserved in the Friend, "nor need it (he used to say) be lost in becoming one."

At the time of his death, Pennsylvania was become peopled by 40,000, half of these Friends, the others Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians, between whom concord prevailed and a high tone of moral feeling. Theatres, horse races, and vain sports were not allowed. The first day of the week was well observed. Lotteries, pawnbrokers, and beggars were unknown. Swearing and drunkenness were punished by law, and during William Penn's life-time not a duel in that duelling age had disgraced the community. The only instrument of authority was the constable's staff, yet never was there a government with less internal disturbance or more outward decorum.

Philadelphia is now, like Nineveh of old, become a million peopled City, of which the Friends form still a large and influential portion, especially when the two nearly equal sections of Unitarian and Orthodox are considered together. Their somewhat numerous meeting-houses attract attention by their size and plain substantiality. Some sections of these Congregations show much earnestness in social reform and missionary efforts, but as a whole may be considered more remarkable for strict propriety of life, and care in training the young, for whom they maintain most excellent Schools and some large and well appointed Colleges.

CHAPTER XV.

MINISTERS AMONGST THE SETTLERS IN AMERICA.

Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof—not by constraint, but willingly ; nor for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.—I PET. v. 2.

WHATEVER of surprise it might cause the worldly-wise for Friends to settle in Pennsylvania amongst savages, without the bribe of gin or the defence of gunpowder, must have been equally felt by those accustomed to Ecclesiastical arrangements, for such an undertaking to be made without any provision of appointed Chaplains or salaried Ministers of religion. Yet as their peaceable methods were successful in securing safety and prosperity, so their reliance on one another's spiritual gifts was met by an unfailing supply of gospel ministry. It shows their religious zeal to find, that the *first* structure erected by them in Philadelphia was a log-framed Meeting-house, whilst still living themselves in tents or caves, and that this soon became replaced by one more spacious, of solid brickwork, where they could meet to wait, in dependence on the Lord, that He would Himself minister direct to the heart, or by one or another of those assembled in His name, and the way in which such Meeting-houses multiplied, is an indication that this zeal in public worship kept pace with the rapidly increasing population.

Here may be introduced some few words of comment on the ministering Friends that either visited

them or were settled amongst them, drawn chiefly from brief notices at the time of their living and labours. None, as before said, received any outward remuneration. Even those travelling were only repaid their expenses and cost of living, and many of them who could afford it travelled at their own charges. Great diversity obtained both in rank, age, and education ; some were husbandmen, others persons of literary acquirements, a few were well advanced in years, but the majority were young and full of enterprise, none more so than many of the women amongst them.

James Martin, from London, weakly, but devoted to the work and service of the gospel.

Roger Langworth, from Lancashire, a great traveller in the British Isles and Europe, settled meetings, gave great comfort, got a name among the ancients, and is recorded among the worthies of the Lord.

Robert Barrow, eminently gifted in the ministry.

Ralph Wardell, an ancient Friend, with extraordinary talent for the discipline.

Jonathan Tyler, a noble instrument in the hand of God.

William Ellis and *Aaron Atkinson*, whereof William was an authoritative minister of the Gospel, and Aaron a mighty tender man.

Roger Gill—the power of the Lord was with him, so that his testimony was with authority, and the truth was raised by it in others.

Thomas Thompson and *Josiah Langdale*—Thomas

informed us that when he was binding sheaves in his native land, he became impressed with a duty to visit us ; he was a sound preacher ; his companion Josiah was also a fine tender man, earnestly pressing people to fear the Lord, saying if he could gain but one soul, or turn but one to Truth in all his travels he should be well satisfied.

John Salkeld, a notable man to proclaim the gospel.

Thomas Turner, an ancient Friend, whose testimony was that the enemies should be scattered and the Truth come into dominion. He had meetings with the Indians in their places of abode, and was very loving, and the Indians had great regard and kindness for him.

John Richardson, the bent of whose testimony was much to press people to honesty and uprightness.

John Estaugh, a mild man, desiring people to be true to what was made known to them.

Mary Ellerton and *Mary Banister*, both valiant faithful women.

John Fothergill and *William Armistead*, who were also very tender honest Friends. Oh, the good frame of spirit, and how the power of the truth was with John Fothergill !

Samuel Bownas, a mighty valiant minister to open the mystery of Babylon. He was imprisoned while in America, and not to be chargeable to any, learnt shoemaking and supported himself until his release.

Samuel Wilkinson and *Patrick Henderson*, whereof Samuel was a plain man, had a fine testimony for truth, and his companion was a wise man, large in his

testimony, and of singular parts. May he keep to the Root that bore him. James Logan writing to William Penn of these two young Scotchmen, describes them "as some of the most extraordinary that ever visited those parts ; of such as these the more always the better."

John Turner, a good and sound old man, much against wrath and contention.

Thomas Wilson and *James Dickenson*, these were both very noted men ; they had an open door among all sorts, and reached the hearts of many people.

William Armstrong and *James Graham*, their testimony was precious. Oh, the good frame of spirit they were in, exhorting the people to walk humbly and serve the Lord daily ; it was a laborious work, there being that to weigh down that would do hurt, and to search out the obstructions to the love and life of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to gather back and hedge in such as were like to wander away.

The preceding notes refer to those who visited America from other lands on Gospel Service, to which a few may be added as to those amongst the Emigrants themselves, who were in much esteem amongst them for their ministry.

Israel Pemberton, of Philadelphia, himself largely engaged as a Merchant, and influential both in the affairs of the Colony and the Society, had three sons, *Israel*, *James* and *John* ; each of whom devoted himself to the service of the public and their Friends. All three were men of superior abilities and character, high also in social position. John travelled much in

the ministry, and lies buried at Pymont, in Germany, where his death occurred whilst on religious service there, having undertaken the journey when nearly 70 years of age.

Members of the *Lloyd* family were of much service as able statesmen. One whom Whittier calls *learned Lloyd*, was for some years its Governor.

Michael Lightfoot, Susanna Morris, Abraham Farrington and *Benjamin Trotter*, are a group of ministers, zealous in their day and abundant in labours.

John Woolman's character is monumental for deep piety and conscientiousness, and to get the writings of John Woolman by heart, is, according to Charles Lamb, to fall in love with the early Friends.

Daniel Stanton and *John Churchman, Sarah Morris* and *Joseph White*, are each of them ministers, whose journeys were extensive in America and England, John Churchman's especially, as his published Journals set forth.

Samuel Emlen possessed a highly cultivated mind and though infirm as to health, it seemed in no way to slaken his efforts in the work of the ministry, both in America and in visits to England.

William Savery also was of a very superior order of mind, so highly cultivated as to add greatly to the power of his ministry, in the course of which during a visit to England, Elizabeth Fry, when a gay Miss Gurney, became changed from a lover of the world, to a life of such devotedness to her Saviour as to have

made her piety and good works so widely known.

Nicholas Waln was a Barrister and a most able minister of the Gospel, for the sake of which he was content to forego honours that his eloquence in the Courts were opening to him.

George Dillwyn was another instance of ability and culture, freely devoted to the service of the Gospel, both in America and England, where he resided for several years, and travelled also on the Continent of Europe, which was difficult of accomplishment at that time through the wars then prevailing.

Many more names might be quoted of men and women Friends actively engaged in the affairs of this life, yet greatly valued for their Gospel service ; and James Logan, although taking no part in this, discharged the responsible office of Chief Judge and other high offices in so exemplary a manner as to show the religious principle that governed his life. He has been described as one of the best and most learned of all the early settlers.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEATH OF GEORGE FOX.

THE opening of 1690-1 is marked in the Society's Annals by the decease of George Fox, whose long and laborious life was terminated by an illness of a few days through a chill taken whilst attending meetings in London. He died at a Friend's residence adjoining the Lombard Street Meeting-House, where his voice had been heard for the last time in powerful ministry and earnest prayer.

Over his closing hours such peace prevailed that it was said "Death seemed to him as if it were worth scarce a mention," but his Friends mournfully gathered by the thousands to accompany the remains to a London Burial Ground near Bunhill Fields, where, amidst tearful eyes and saddened hearts, many testimonies were borne to his work and blessed results.

He was about 66 years of age at the time of his death, and for the last sixteen years had been husband to Margaret Fell, the widow of Swarthmore Hall, which marriage might to all appearance have provided for him a country residence during his declining years, but neither of them allowed their own comfort to be other than subordinate to the claims of a Society, to whose welfare they had both of them devoted their lives—and as a consequence but little experience of home-life ensued, so pressing were the engagements connected with its affairs in which Margaret Fell had from the

first taken deep interest. She was at the time of this second marriage about sixty years of age, and her daughters were well married and settled in homes of their own. These viewed with satisfaction the wedding of their mother, with one for whom they felt themselves a strong affection, and on his part he was careful lest his marriage with their parent should in any way affect their pecuniary interest in her property.

It terminated a widowhood of sixteen years, and after about as many more of this second married life, she survived George Fox by ten years, her own death not occurring until she had reached the advanced age of eighty-eight.

It will be remembered that almost directly after the marriage, her husband set sail for the West Indies and America, on the return from which long and arduous service, his wife accompanied him in visiting Friends' meetings in the Midland Counties, in the course of which he was arrested at Worcester, and it was not until after a year of much suffering through his ill treatment in prison that Friends succeeded with the King to have his case brought up to London before the Court of King's Bench, where Sir Matthew Hale, one of the best of judges England has ever had, gave him so full an acquittal, that George Fox was never molested further, and was able to recruit his shattered health by a few years of domestic quiet at Swarthmore Hall, during which he arranged his papers connected with the early history of the Society. Having thus in

measure recovered strength, the rest of his life up to the time of his decease was spent chiefly in the neighbourhood of London, attending its meetings, and oft in council with his brethren on important matters affecting the interest of the Society at large.

As might be expected, many testimonies were borne to his worth by those who knew him, of which some brief extracts have been already given, from such as are printed with his published works. It may be further added that William Penn described him as one who “united a religious majesty with a most engaging humility and moderation,” and testifies to “the depth and power of his ministry, its convincing and confirming character. Above all,” he says, “he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fullness of his words, the most awful living reverent frame I ever felt or beheld was his in prayer.”

To his friends of the present day is the memory of this eminent labourer in the gospel vineyard very precious, as of one enabled to open more fully than any before, the riches of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. He desired not personal honour nor any dependence of others on himself, but that all might be directed to the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, the Teacher that teacheth as never man taught, and he so directed his hearers that they might seek to know in their hearts an experience, that would bring them to adopt for themselves his own declara-

tion :—*We were nothing, Christ is all.*

True to their practice of making no distinction in the grave, whereunto all men hasted, the Friends (who to the number of 4,000 had followed their beloved chief to the burial ground) raised no monument over the place of his interment, but an affectionate interest preserved its situation in remembrance through various generations, and about a hundred years ago, during an excavation needed in some repairs to foundations of a boundary wall against which it had been made, a coffin was uncovered with the initials G. F. cut on it. An apprentice engaged in the work, tempted by curiosity whilst the others were gone to dinner, lifted its lid and saw the fine features and long hair of the corpse still remaining. Astonished at the sight he called for his master, whose greater weight as he descended the ladder so jarred the coffin that all as in a moment vanished into undistinguishable dust. The apprentice, however, retained throughout his long life a vivid remembrance of what when a boy he had thus seen, and there are those still living who have heard from Friends of cool judgment what they had been told by him of this remarkable occurrence. A plain headstone now marks the site of the grave as the discovery of an old vellum plan enabled its position to be thus indicated with approximate certainty, and large Memorial Buildings recently erected in this locality, shew that the Society he founded is in its two hundred and fortieth year still active for good amidst London's population.

CHAPTER XVII.

SOCIETY ORGANISATION.

"The age of intolerance, of popular violence, of systematic persecution, was gone by, but the age of prosperity, and of self-indulgence ; the age of formality, of spiritual lethargy and leanness was stealing on."—Bancroft.

THE Revolution of 1688, which deposed James the Second and gave the English Crown to William of Orange, introduced an era of Toleration for *loyal* Protestants in their various forms of worship.

William had been accustomed thus to govern in Holland, and found it his interest to secure the support of those of various Denominations against Catholic efforts—fostered by the French King—to replace James on the throne.

For Friends' relief a form of Declaration of Allegiance and Fidelity was arranged with King and Parliament in substitution of the Oath formerly required ; and their Assemblies were now recognised as entitled to legal protection if continued to be held, as they always had been, with *unbolted* doors.

With this peaceful termination of nearly *forty* years' continued suffering, the history of the Society changes to one of its internal government and organisation, which suggests that some account should be given of the arrangements by which its social unity is regulated.

These as they are examined will be found to combine freedom of parts with unity as a whole, and

are effected through three classes of meetings, known as Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings.

The first of these which it has been seen George Fox was the means of establishing throughout the nation, remain now—as ever—the *executive* feature of the whole system, and are composed officially of representatives chosen monthly from each of two or more congregations, who when thus assembled consider and order what may be found necessary for the welfare of those whose congregational interest they represent. Entrusted with such powers, it will be understood how earnest was the desire, as ancient records show, to secure for this *service* “just and righteous men of sound principles and judgment in the truth of Christ, and sound and blameless conversation, men in love and unity among themselves,” and also that whilst such are *chosen* to attend there may yet be liberty for any other Friend to be present. Such arrangement ensures publicity and general interest among the members in the welfare of these congregations; women Friends have also their own Monthly Meetings, formed on a similar plan and often are the two united in a *joint* consideration of subjects of special importance.

The subjects that come before these gatherings refer rather to good order and right conduct in life than to doctrinal questions. For with the poet is the Friend in accord when he says—

“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong whose *life* is in the right.”

If any were found walking disorderly or failing to

discharge just debts, such would be visited by appointment of these Monthly Meetings, and if remonstrance failed to effect amendment, and no other course opened, a testimony of disunity would be issued to clear the Society from sharing in any reproachful conduct. All differences between Members it would be sought to settle by arbitration, and so avoid "brother going to law with brother." Over marriages it exercised a watchful care, especially needful in an age when so many were clandestinely effected. The parties proposing to enter into such engagements were required to attend personally at the Monthly Meeting and there individually express their intentions, and not until the Meeting was assured by appointments then made that they were clear from all other, and had consent of parents or guardians, would it issue its sanction for the solemnization of the marriage; which it was also careful should take place at one of its public assemblies for worship. Owing to these precautions Friends' marriages have rarely failed in proving the source of happy homes, and the State has acknowledged this judicious care, by granting the Society a privilege shared by no other Nonconformists except the Jews of having its own Registering Officers of Marriage. A like care was shown from the beginning in keeping a record of births in Friends' families, and deaths and burials, which are now collected into books at the central office in London, and form an important genealogical series extending throughout more than two hundred years, in frequent use in connection with wills and successions to property.

At such Monthly Meetings funds were also raised to meet the necessities of poorer members, assist in the education of their children, or in binding them apprentice to some useful employment, so that there might be no want nor preventible distress unrelieved amongst them, and everyone be concerned for the other's good.

Many practical details respecting the provision of, and care over Meeting-places and Burial Grounds would receive attention on these recurrent occasions, and suitable appointments be made such as Overseers in respect to the poor, and Elders to watch over the spiritual interests of the congregation. As to the ministry, no such arrangements are made, for with Friends its exercise is regarded as the result of a Divine gift, which when by experience they feel has been conferred on any, they acknowledge it, not by appointment but by *recording* the Friend as a Minister, which conveys in itself no legislative power in the Church, as is so much the case with other religious organisations.

In thus reviewing the Society's constitution, it will be obvious that as *individual* congregations derive strength from union with some others in Monthly Meetings, so do these latter by an arrangement that groups them into Quarterly Meetings to which they send their Representatives; and yet further, such Quarterly Meetings, of which there are Eighteen in England and Scotland, unite by an annual choice of representatives in holding a General Council once a year; which is so important

a feature in the Society that some further particulars of it may be acceptable.

It is a Composite as well as a Representative Assembly, for every recorded Minister or appointed Elder throughout the Society is a member of it, and of later years it has been the custom to exclude no one who is a member from its deliberations, although not under appointment as a representative from the Quarterly Meetings.

This openness much favours the general acceptance of any advice it may issue, or conclusions it may have formed. It is controlled by no President or Chairman, but each year it selects a Clerk and two Assistants to guide and record its decisions.

Frequently nearly a thousand men Friends of various social rank and age will be thus assembled, and as nothing is decided by majorities, or ascertained through voting or by show of hands, it might seem impracticable for anyone acting as its Clerk to arrive at the judgment of the Meeting, when debateable subjects of great interest were under consideration. But there is such a sense of being assembled under the Presidency of the great Head of the Church Himself ; present by His Spirit, that it keeps down heated discussion, and preserves, amid earnestness of feeling, a reverential spirit. All who speak are expected to confine themselves to the subject in hand, and not to make speeches founded on others' remarks. They are listened to without any of the usual expressions of dissent or applause, which, when occurring, the Clerk is prompt to repress, and

thus the Society has in this large and annually occurring Assembly never been without some Friend who, as its Clerk with his two assistants, could offer what seemed to him as the judgment of the meeting, and embody it in a minute that met with general acceptance.

A care also exists not to press matters on which much difference of opinion prevails to a decision, and the rather when such may be the case, to defer it for reconsideration another year. Often (if important) will it thus have deferred subjects for several years in succession, or else let them form the subject of a special Conference, convened for their consideration and report.

In these ways and by this care great changes have from time to time been made in the rules and regulations of a Society, which can believe in "walking on the old ways" with an attention to Divine guidance, that shows when alterations are needed, and how they can be made to suit present circumstances, without infringing on original principles.

These meetings in their ascending scale of Monthly, Quarterly, and Annual, though chiefly concerned with subjects affecting good order in *outward* conduct, must not be supposed to omit watchfulness over the *spiritual* interests of the Community, for there is the same gradation of meetings composed of ministers, elders, and overseers, men and women together, who have these under their *more* especial care, but without any legislative power. And should any Friend feel himself called to travel in the ministry to other Yearly

meetings in different parts of the world, it is from these meetings of his brethren and sisters in the ministry, that sanction must be obtained before undertaking such a distant service.

Looking at the subject historically it is seen that it was through this its Annual Assembly founded on so broad a basis, that the Society was able on the cessation of Persecution to establish *uniformity* of practice amongst its numerous and widely spread Congregations, amongst which were many independent spirits who little wished for what they were inclined to regard as seeking to abridge liberty of *individual* conscience. Such ideas firmly held and strongly expressed, gradually disappeared before the wise councils of such legislative minds as George Whitehead, Robert Barclay, Alexander Parker, Stephen Crisp, and some others who became prominent at this critical stage in directing the Society's affairs. Through their influence the Yearly meeting acquired a *paramount* influence in the councils of the Society, which was gained not through issuing anything by way of command, but only as of exhortation, "brotherly recommendation, or tender advice."

The Epistles issued year by year from these General Assemblies in London are all preserved and published from the beginning. Those of the earlier period will be found replete with counsel for maintaining unity, good order, and conduct in all the walks of life, offered in so loving and wise a manner as to make it the easier to understand how under these arrangements, the Society be-

came as a whole fitly joined and compacted together, in which service the Yearly Meeting has had so large a share.

If such were possible this becomes yet more evident in connection with the Society's career in a succeeding generation, when it had found to its grief how seriously the Friends had become affected by the spirit of an age which it could describe in no milder terms than one "of great dissipation, luxury, and profaneness, when the genuine fruits of the spirit of Christianity were rarely to be seen."

The Yearly Meeting appointed committees who spent *years* in visiting the Society throughout the nation. It issued exhortations which stirred up a general purging of the camp from disorderly walkers, whilst those who remained, adopted according to its recommendations a strictness of manner and life, a plainness of speech and behaviour, that marked them out as a peculiar people, undoubtedly desirous of being found zealous also in good works.

A prominent feature associated with and assisting in this Revival was the *printing* and issue, in 1783, of "Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting," which had till then been circulated only in manuscript, and were but indifferently preserved. This work became the acknowledged guide on all subjects relating to the Society, and has continued ever since to hold this position. It has been revised up to date through *five* successive Editions issued at intervals of about twenty years between them, the last being as recent as 1883.

The work as first published consisted of fifty-one chapters treating on such subjects as meetings for worship and discipline, marriages, education, removals, settlements, trade, tithes, reading the scriptures, wills, arbitration, conduct and conversation, moderation and temperance, love and unity, liberality to the poor, counsel to the young, &c., &c.

Another feature of this time to be specially noticed is what are called "The Queries," which may be thus explained :—The representatives on coming to the annual assembly had from the first been expected not only to bring some written answers as to matters of fact as to sufferings, number of prisoners, death of ministers, &c., but also to report *verbally* on the general state of the Friends in the localities they represented. But now the Yearly Meeting asked for *written* replies to a series of questions of a comprehensive nature which inquired whether meetings for worship and discipline were kept up and in a proper manner, and whether love and unity were being preserved ; whether families were careful to train up children for a good life and conversation and frequent readings of the Holy Scriptures ; did Friends keep clear of paying priests' demands, and are they avoiding vain sports or any intemperance ; was their trade being conducted on sound principles ; were marriages made the subject of careful regulation, and the registries of births and deaths kept ; also records of all Meeting House properties.

These subjects, expressed much more fully and arranged under separate headings, being yearly replied to

by the Monthly meetings to the Quarterly and these in turn to the annual Assembly, enabled it to be kept in touch with the whole Society to such an extent that it could review its condition year by year, and thus issue such advice or recommendation as circumstances might require, either by special minute or through that Epistle already referred to, which it has ever been its custom to address annually to Friends everywhere.

In this re-constructive work of the close of the Eighteenth century, such names as Tuke, Fothergill, Stacey, Birkbeck, J. G. Bevan, &c., &c., occur amongst those by whose wise counsels it was effected.

Stern disciplinarians were these, and yet not more than the Society needed to secure its preservation amid a general social and religious laxity. Its vitality has been shown in a safe relinquishment of peculiarities it was in danger of regarding as perpetual Testimonies, and the world of associating with its continuance. In so doing it but returns to its originals, for, as George Whitehead told King Charles, "We affect not singularity in Words or Behaviour, but desire to demean ourselves in that plainness and simplicity which we are in Conscience and Truth persuaded unto."

CHAPTER XVIII.

YEARLY MEETING PREMISES.

INDICATIVE of the increased importance attached to the Yearly Meeting towards the close of the eighteenth century, is the necessity that arose for acquiring some premises large enough to accommodate the greater number of country Friends that desired to come up to London for its attendance, for none of the old meeting houses in the city were sufficiently extensive for the purpose. Accordingly a large inn, known as the Dolphin, adjoining the old Meeting Place of Devonshire House, was purchased, and on its site two spacious and lofty Halls of Assembly erected, each capable of holding near upon a thousand persons, with committee-rooms adjoining. One of these Meeting Houses was for men, and the other for women Friends, so that each had room not only for their representatives, but also for any Friend who might be in London though not a representative, to attend the sittings, which arrangement worked to advantage, not only through promoting a more general interest in Society affairs, but in giving yet more importance to any decision or advice that might be issued by so large and thoroughly representative an Assembly.

The mention of a large and separate House for

women Friends during Yearly Meeting, needs the explanation that it had not been customary up to this time for them to have any Yearly Meeting of their own for *Discipline*, though they used to unite in those held for *worship* in the various meeting houses of the Metropolis whilst the Assembly was in session. But in this work of Reformation they took so great an interest, and felt there were so many matters concerning themselves needing attention, as to make them desire a place large enough for assembling in council together. To gain assent for which, they approached the men's Yearly Meeting by a deputation of their own to lay this subject before them. It is said that J. G. Bevan, then acting as clerk to the men Friends, himself remarkable amongst them in bodily and mental endowments, no sooner saw the graceful yet dignified figure of Esther Tuke, advancing towards him at the head of this deputation, than he felt inclined to address her in the words of King Ahasuerus, "What is thy petition Queen Esther? and it shall be granted thee; and what is thy request? and it shall be performed." Needless to say, no difficulty occurred in granting this of hers, made on behalf of her sister Friends, and in these extensive building operations on the old Dolphin Inn was a large meeting place provided also for them. It is an arrangement that has ever since worked to mutual satisfaction, for whilst uniting with their brethren in *worship*, they are able to attend on their part to the general state of women Friends all over the country, without infringing on the legislative character of the men's Yearly Meeting.

Richly endowed were many women Friends of those days, in spiritual and mental gifts, true Mothers of Israel ruling not only their own houses well, but society affairs also. Some of them were regarded as prophetesses in their copious and powerful ministry, so much so that men of mark in the community have owned to its having had great influence on their religious convictions amid a careless age, and inducing in them a strong attachment to the principles of Friends.

When Thomas Wilkinson, a Lake poet, and friend of Wordsworth, returned from his 300 miles walk to London, his verse that recounts his City experiences, dwells on the virtues of the women Friends he met with at London Yearly Meeting.

Saw *Sterry's* zeal her Christian life adorn,
Saw female piety preside in *Horn*,
Heard her sweet voice inspiring counsel bear,
And fraught with love her drooping brethren cheer—
Saw gentle *Gurney* with a sweet address
Allure her friends to heaven and happiness,
Saw *Fowler's* gift with love divine abound,
Her precepts life, her voice a heavenly sound,
Saw *Abbott* to her old friends ever dear,
In life correct, in testimony clear,
Saw powerful *Grubb* that sounds her Master's praise
In streets, in markets, prisons and highways.

What the Society owes to its saintly practical women Friends, from Margaret Fell to the present days can never be over-estimated, nor in any tribute to their worth must the share that these Society arrangements have had in training such characters for their field of

service be forgotten. In the discipline of these meetings, minds have been educated from early years for their excellent conduct of affairs, which an Elizabeth Fry may have exhibited in a manner specially observable to the public ; but it is one which any Women's Yearly Meeting shows as a general characteristic of her sister Friends, when gathered in council together ; grave, wise, executive, guiding important affairs with discretion ; self-contained, and firm in opinion and expression, without forwardness or the slightest infringement of feminine delicacy. Where indeed, it may well be asked, could another group of mothers be found, so many of whose children, whether by natural birth or spiritual influence, can rise up and call them blessed ?

Friends begin the training in this service early, as it is the practice to associate some of the well disposed amongst the *younger* members with those of maturer age when nominating Representatives to attend meetings for conducting the affairs of the church—whether Monthly, Quarterly, or even the Yearly Gathering ; an instance of which latter may be quoted from the clever authoress of “ The Richardsons of Cleveland ” as having occurred to one of her heroines when about eighteen. “ While different names (for Representatives) were being thus mentioned in a Durham Quarterly Meeting, a Friend, of Newcastle, whose powerful intellect and strength of will gave her great influence in the meeting, pointed to Isabel Richardson and said, ‘ I do not know the name of that young Friend, but I should wish her to be one of our representatives to the Yearly Meeting.’

The timid girl sat in speechless terror, equally unable to raise her voice in refusal, or to endure the thought of what was involved by acceptance. No sound came from her lips. The Friend who acted as Clerk to the Meeting, and who knew her name (though the Newcastle lady did not) wrote it down ! and Isabel went, as the narrative proceeds to tell, to London Yearly Meeting as one of its Representatives ; and to the end of her days, after a life of great journeyings, even as far as America, in the ministry of the Gospel, she loved to tell of the spiritual benefit received from this “her *first* Yearly Meeting, the attendance of which she had anticipated with so much fear.”

CHAPTER XIX.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND COUNSEL ISSUED BY THE YEARLY MEETING.

IN an historical review of this kind little opportunity occurs for any development of the special and distinctive views taken by the Society on Christian Doctrine, which to be understood in their proper relation to those of other Christian communities must be learnt from works especially devoted to these subjects, of which any Friend's library will be found to contain ample store. Even here a glance may be taken at them through a few extracts from the last edition of the work on "Christian Discipline" referred to in a former chapter.

From the general epistles of 1830, 1861, and 1868, has been framed this statement, that "We as a Christian Church accept the immediate operations of the Spirit of God upon the heart in their inseparable connection with our risen and exalted Saviour. We disavow all professed spirituality that is divorced from faith in Jesus Christ of Nazareth, crucified for us without the gates of Jerusalem. One with the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit works for the regeneration of fallen rebellious man. Not merely as the Enlightener of the conscience and the Reprover for sin, is the Spirit mercifully granted, but also, in an especial manner, to testify

of and to glorify the Saviour, to apply, with sanctifying efficacy to the soul, His words and work when upon earth, and His mediation and intercession for us in heaven. . . . To be guided by the Spirit is the practical application of the Christian religion."

As the mode of worship adopted by Friends is peculiar to them, a few sentences may be offered on their views of this religious engagement, taken from an epistle of 1866. "The worship of God under the Gospel consists not in ceremonies, or in external observances. It is a simple, *spiritual* service. That which was represented in the sacrifices of the law was fulfilled and ended in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the exercise of faith in Him the reality is now to be enjoyed. . . . No worship ought now to be made dependent upon the presence of any one man or order of men; no service or stated vocal utterance in the congregation ought to be allowed to interfere with the operation of the Lord's free Spirit. We thankfully recognize, as a means of edification, the preaching of the Gospel, and offerings of public prayer or thanksgiving, under the renewed anointing of the Holy Ghost; but we dare not make these dependent upon human arrangements, or exclude, by any such arrangements the silent and unseen, but not unfelt ministrations of the Spirit of Christ, "dividing to every man severally as He wills."

Herein may be seen, by those open to perceive it, that Friends, when come together for worship, sit down in silence through belief in an efficacy at-

tendant on such reverent waitings upon the Lord of all Spirits, and any vocal utterances ensuing are received as His fresh anointing to the service. “We recognise the value of silence not as an end, but as the means towards the attainment of an end; a silence not of listlessness, or of vacant musing, but of holy expectation before the Lord.”

In like manner some may find it not difficult to understand why, as there is no outward priest or officiating minister, it is not thought needful to introduce any material element for a due remembrance of the Lord’s death for us, or for the waiting soul to partake of true communion with Him.

On the subject of ministry may be quoted the following passage under date of 1841:—“It is the prerogative of Christ to call and qualify by the Holy Spirit his servants to minister in word and doctrine. . . . The servants of Christ who labour in the ministry are to be highly esteemed for their work’s sake; and when at His call they leave their outward avocations to preach the gospel, their outward wants should be cheerfully supplied. Yet we consider the gifts of the ministry to be of so pure and sacred a nature, that no payment should be made for its exercise, and that it ought never to be undertaken for pecuniary remuneration. . . . We believe it to be the duty of the ministers of the Gospel to be diligent in the fear of God in reading the Holy Scripture; neither do we undervalue human learning, but to subject any to a course of teaching as a necessary preparation for the ministry, is in our apprehension, to

interfere with that work of the Holy Spirit, which our Lord carries forward in the hearts of those whom He calls to preach His gospel unto others."

Further to quote from these paragraphs relative to ministers and Ministry, "We thankfully believe that from the early rise of our Society, the Lord has been pleased to bestow this gift upon servants and upon handmaidens without respect of persons, and that it has been exercised in His fear and to the honour of His name ; and we pray that He may be pleased to grant us its continuance and increase, and to keep us from ever desiring any other."

Amidst much valuable advice on faithfulness in life's stewardship, is this of 1865:—"Let none so overcharge themselves with business, pleasure or other pursuits, or so give way to the love of ease, as in any degree to obstruct the exercise of their gifts or hinder their right service. . . How influential is the example of the Christian in the midst of his outward affairs. . . If things are in their right places, best things will be uppermost, and joy in the Lord's work on earth will be increasingly known as a foretaste of his perfected service in heaven."

Here is an extract among many on love and unity in the Church, taken from an Epistle of 1857:—"How precious is the unity which is known among brethren who are made one in Christ.—Their characters, their position, their gifts, their services may greatly differ, but their hearts are one. They have one Father, who is in heaven ; they serve one Master, even

Christ ; and amidst all the diversities of gifts and administrations it is the same Spirit that worketh all in all, dividing to every man severally as He will."

Much of counsel is—in this valuable collection—extended to parents, but space will only permit these few words of affectionate appeal under dates 1866, &c.:—"Christian fathers and mothers honour the Lord in your families. Let your lives be a daily confession of Christ in your households. In connection with the family reading of the scriptures, and the accompanying devotional silence, which we trust will ever be felt to be precious, quench not the gentle drawings of Divine love, prompting the word of exhortation or instruction, or the outpouring of the heart in prayer. Pray with, as well as for your children, watching for opportunities of uniting with them individually in the exercise of this blessed privilege. . . They partake with you of a fallen nature ; and it is your sacred duty to strive, through divine help, to lead them to Him in whom is plenteous redemption."

Then in training of families in this wise counsel, that " whilst providing liberal instruction for your children you may never be drawn aside by the desire for fashionable or merely ornamental accomplishments, from a course of training and education conducive to a useful and honourable life upon earth, and in harmony with the discipline that renders meet for heaven."

On the subject of simplicity and moderation—"It is our tender and Christian advice that Friends

take care to keep to truth and plainness, in language, habit, deportment, and behaviour ; that the simplicity of truth in these things may not wear out or be lost in our days, nor in those of our posterity ; and to avoid pride and immodesty in apparel, and all vain and superfluous fashions of the world." In 1691 and again in 1868, "Words fail to convey our sense of the importance of realising the influence of the Spirit of God, in its sanctifying power, upon the habits, the affections, and even the tastes. We plead for no mere outward imitation of that which is good, but rather for that conformity to Christ which springs from the renewal of the mind."

In a chapter devoted to enforcing uprightness and integrity much sound counsel is offered as to the conduct of business and trade, referring also as expressed in the following extracts to overtrading and watchfulness that a right time may be known for withdrawal from business. "We would bid all beware of that spirit which 'hasteth to be rich,' and which so often leads those who give way to it, to trade beyond their ability, to the great hurt of themselves and their families, and to the grievous injury of others. . . . Be upon the watch to know the right time for retiring from business. In these, and in all other things, seek, both for yourselves and for your children, to be limited by the will of God.—1872.

It has been already mentioned that by a Series of Queries answered in writing from Monthly Meetings to those held Quarterly, such were helped to see whether

the various congregations were in good order and living up to the spirit of this Christian counsel, and as these eighteen Quarterly gatherings themselves render answers to the Annual Assembly it is enabled yearly to review the State of the Society, and frame its advice in a General Epistle accordingly. It is also a practice of Friends once a year to read, at the close of a Sabbath morning meeting, a Series of Advices so excellent that even the pressure on our space may not excuse their being quoted in the brevity of their fulness :—

Take heed, dear Friends, we entreat you, to the convictions of the Holy Spirit, who leads, through unfeigned repentance, and living faith in the Son of God, to reconciliation with our Heavenly Father ; and to the blessed hope of eternal life, purchased for us by the one offering of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Be earnestly concerned in religious meetings reverently to present yourselves before the Lord ; and seek by the help of the Holy Spirit to worship God through Jesus Christ.

Prize the privilege of access by Him unto the Father. Continue instant in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving.

Be in the frequent practice of waiting upon the Lord in private retirement ; honestly examining yourselves as to your growth in grace, and your preparation for the life to come.

Be diligent in the private perusal of the Holy

Scriptures ; and let the daily reading of them in your families be devoutly conducted.

Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week which are not occupied by our Meetings for Worship.

Live in love as Christian brethren, ready to be helpful one to another, and sympathising with each other in the trials and afflictions of life. Watch over one another for good, manifesting an earnest desire that each may possess a well grounded hope in Christ.

Follow peace with all men, desiring the true happiness of all ; be kind and liberal to the poor, and endeavour to promote the temporal, moral and religious well-being of your fellow men.

With a tender conscience in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, take heed to the limitations of the Spirit of Truth in the pursuit of the things of this life.

Maintain strict integrity in your transactions in trade and in all your outward concerns. Guard against the spirit of speculation, and the snare of accumulating wealth. Remember that we must account for the mode of acquiring, as well as for the manner of using, and finally disposing of our possessions. Observe simplicity and moderation in your deportment and attire, in the furniture of your houses, and in your style and manner of living. Carefully maintain in your own conduct, and encourage in your families, truthfulness and sincerity ; and avoid worldliness in all its forms.

Guard watchfully against the introduction into your

households of publications of a hurtful tendency ; and against such companionships, indulgences and recreations, whether for yourselves or your children, as may in any wise interfere with a growth in grace.

Let the poor of this world remember that it is our Heavenly Father's will that all His children should be rich in faith. Let your lights shine in lives of honest industry and patient love. Do your utmost to maintain yourselves and your families in an honorable independence, and, by prudent care in time of health, to provide for sickness and old age, holding fast to the promise "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."

Whatever be your position in life, avoid such sports and places of diversion as are frivolous or demoralising ; all kinds of gaming ; the needless frequenting of taverns and other public-houses, and the unnecessary use of intoxicating liquors.

In contemplating the engagement of marriage, look principally to that which will help you on your heavenward journey ; pay filial regard to the judgment of your parents ; bear in mind the vast importance, in such a union, of an accordance in religious principles and practice ; ask counsel of God, desiring above all temporal considerations, that your union may be owned and blessed of Him.

Watch with Christian tenderness over the opening minds of your children ; inure them to habits of self-restraint and filial obedience ; carefully instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures ; and seek for ability to imbue their hearts with the love of their

Heavenly Father, their Redeemer, and their Sanctifier.

Finally, dear friends, let your whole conduct and conversation be such as becomes the Gospel ; exercise yourselves to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men ; be steadfast and faithful in your allegiance and service to your Lord ; continue in His love ; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

These “General Advices” are as they now stand in the last revision of them made in 1883. There have been various previous revisions, as many as six, indeed, since their adoption in 1791.

CHAPTER XX.

EDUCATION.

ARE the necessities of the poor amongst you properly inspected and relieved? *and is due care taken of the EDUCATION of their offspring?* This Query (remarked a leading Friend) is *the* one answered annually without an exception; but before the way is described by which the latter part of it came to be so fully answered, a few observations may be made on the general subject of Education in the Society.

For their youth of *both* sexes to have a sound English education was from the first a desired object in Friends' families, which it was the easier to secure from the circumstance that several of the earliest adherents to the Society had previously been school-masters, and there has never been wanting a succession of those qualified to conduct educational establishments. Besides many of a private character, some have been undertaken under the care of committees of the Quarterly Meetings, and a high class standard of instruction is given in some of these.

It is interesting to observe how some of the earliest of these establishments for girls were commenced and conducted by women Friends, so earnest for securing education and right training as to give their services gratuitously, thus reducing the cost of the establish-

ment to that of maintenance only. At one of these commenced in York by the daughters of William Tuke, the attempts of these volunteers to teach English systematically led to the production of the well known Lindley Murray's Grammar.

This Friend was a retired American merchant, living in the outskirts of York for the benefit of his health, and became so greatly interested in this object as to encourage the visits of these earnest minded teachers to him, with whom he would hold long conferences in explanation of the structure of the English language ; such were so often prolonged to a late hour that their father's servant would be seen, lantern in hand, guiding them homeward across the fields. A natural desire on their part that such valuable matter should have wider influence in a more permanent form, induced their kind councillor to commit his grammatical teachings to writing, and if any proof were needed of the service it has had in English education, it would be shewn by the two hundred separate editions of this grammar, which have been called for by the public since its first appearance in 1795.

Several other works of Lindley Murray's followed with the same educational object, chiefly in reading lessons.

In reference to the important duty of assisting parents whose circumstances did not permit their children to share these advantages, much care has been extended by the Society, by an early establishment of schools for this class of children, in the neighbour-

hoods of London, Bristol, Leeds, and some other places. But the Yearly Meeting in its watchfulness, lest all of this class were not being thus reached, added in 1737 to its list of general enquiries, a request to be informed of what was being done towards the education of such children; from which such prevalent deficiencies became apparent as to awaken its desire for some Institution of its own of more general educational use for the offspring of those who were not in affluent circumstances, that these might have the same kind of benefits which parents who could afford it, obtained for their children at the private or other schools of the Society.

Amongst those earnestly solicitous for a solution of this question was Dr. John Fothergill, a member of a family largely instrumental in the zealous reformation of the Society, and himself become eminent as one of the leading physicians of the day and a generous promoter of scientific and philanthropic objects. Truly was he one in whom talent, generosity, and high principle met in close combination. "My only wish," he said, "in entering on the medical profession was to do what little might fall to my share as well as possible, and to banish all thoughts of practising physic as a money-getting trade with the same solicitude as I would the suggestions of vice and intemperance." As a native of Westmorland he was accustomed (in later life) to retire thitherward for his annual recess, and on one of these journeys heard there was at Ackworth, near Pontefract, an estate with some

large premises for sale that had been erected at great cost by the managers of the Foundling Hospital, and vacated by them when the system changed from keeping the children at work on the premises, to apprenticing them out to learn trades. It had been vacant so many years that the foxes had made themselves holes in its floors, and the trustees were found willing to sell for £7,000 what had cost them £17,000.

The good Doctor consulted with one or two of his intimate friends, who agreeing with him in its adaptability for such an Educational Establishment as the Society needed, they made the purchase themselves, and offered it to the next Yearly Meeting on the same terms, which being cordially accepted, the needed money was raised among Friends generally, amongst whom the worthy Doctor ranks as one of the liberal contributors. His memory will thus ever be associated with the origin of an institution that has proved of incalculable benefit to the Society throughout many generations. "It gives (said an Ex-mayor of York lately) an education far in advance of that enjoyed by *boys* of the same rank in life, . . . and as to girls, a far more thorough and character-strengthening education than was common in the Community at large."

Ten thousand children have there received moral training and education since its establishment in 1779, and through its influence exerted on similar establishments, it has come to pass that year by year all meetings throughout the Society make no exception in



ACKWORTH SCHOOL.

(By kind permission of the Editor of "The Friend.")

reporting "that the necessities of the Poor amongst us are properly inspected and relieved, and *good care is taken of the education of their offspring.*"

Wise men have directed its course, and prevented any pauperising results. Children of those parents who can pay either full or partial cost associate on equal terms with those whose education is being defrayed by their friends, and the fees from those whose parents are able to afford the higher scale of payments help to diminish the cost of the institution over its income.

Ackworth School has now become a noble range of buildings, accommodating 150 Boys and 150 Girls, with Superintendent's Apartments, Committee Room, and spacious Meeting House. Large sums have from time to time been expended in perfecting these accommodations, with Gas Works and Steam Laundry, Baths and Swimming Bath, obtained as gifts from a succession of generous and wealthy patrons, who have loved to assist in keeping the institution John Fothergill initiated, up to the mark in sanitary, residential, and educational buildings and arrangements.

"Happy estate (wrote William Howitt, one of its many scholars who have attained distinction), may the after intercourse of the world never be able to eradicate the effects of this little golden age from the hearts of those who have enjoyed it." And J. G. Fitch, who as Government Education Inspector, visited the Establishment, concludes his report of 1866: "I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the order,

seriousness, and repose of this great Institution ; nor my sense of the advantages which the pupils enjoy in the watchful supervision of the Society to which they belong."

Whilst Ackworth continues to be the only school under the care of the Yearly Meeting, it far from absorbs all children of the class intended within its walls. The example it sets has served as stimulus for Friends to establish at various times similar establishments in other districts. Thus have the home counties one at Saffron Walden (1811), the western at Sidcot (1808), the northern at Wigton (1815), Rawden (1832), Penketh (1834), Ayton (1841), the midlands at Sibford (1842) ; each of these having some special characteristic observable in their foundation and management. Ireland also has four : Waterford, Mountmellick, Lisburn, and Brookfield. In all, including Ackworth, 1,187 children are thus being provided with excellent moral training, and an education sound and serviceable for entrance into industrial or commercial life. 713 of these are boys, and 474 girls, and it may be mentioned that the cost of maintenance and education at these 12 establishments averages £31 6s. 9d. per head, of which £23 11s. 0d. is from parents' payments, £4 16s. 10d. from investments, and £2 12s. 6d. from annual subscriptions. It should also be mentioned that there is a valuable institution for the training of teachers located in some fine premises at Ackworth, and known from the name of its founder as "The Flounders Institute."

CHAPTER XXI.

DISRUPTION AND SECESSION.

HAVING in the course of this history traced the Society's survival through forty years of persecution, its spread in the Western World, its successful efforts at self-reformation during a lax and unbelieving age, and its educational institutions, it is but right to notice some serious controversies that have arisen at various times and caused secessions, both in England and America.

The first of these—amongst English Friends—occurred during the wars of the French Revolution, when England rose to arms in preparations to resist the invasion with which it was threatened by Napoleon. Sentiments of patriotism or feelings of necessity for self-defence caused large numbers—especially of the wealthier members—to relinquish that conscientious objection felt by Friends against all war, which prevented their sharing in these preparations. Such, in consequence, either withdrew from further membership or were disowned by a community that preferred to suffer loss rather than relax its testimony against bearing arms, or joining by subscription or personal service in any volunteer force, or being in any manner concerned with the Militia. It was a secession that materially lessened the social position

and influence of a Society, that had until this numbered amongst its members a large portion of the leading bankers, merchants, and ship-owners, both in London and the chief towns and seaports of the country, but it strengthened those who remained in a desire yet firmer, to maintain their principles of peace as opposed to all war, even of a *defensive* nature.

About the same time there occurred amongst American Friends a yet sadder and wider separation, since it concerned the fundamental truths of our Lord's Divinity and mediatorial office, which an Elias Hicks (like Arius of old) called into question, and having drawn great numbers of Friends to his views, caused what is known as the Hicksite secession. That, in many of the American meetings, lost them half their membership.

As both sides in this sad and bitter contention professed to be true followers of the *early* Friends, and each quoted from their writings in support of such claims, it needs a recurrence to the circumstances under which these works were written, to understand how Evangelicals and Unitarians could alike draw from the same source such widely differing conclusions. Some, no doubt, of these ancient controversial writings might be taken as favouring Unitarian principles, if it were forgotten that these sublime mysteries of the Christian faith were not the subject in hand. *They* were written against an exaltation of the *letter* of Scripture, over the Spirit that inspired it, or to controvert the Calvinist in his extreme views on Divine Election and

Reprobation, or else to draw men off from that exclusive dwelling on our Lord's *outward* work and sacrifice for men, which took not into account the necessity of our becoming ourselves the subject of his *inward* and spiritual work in the heart.

But whenever challenged for appearing to neglect or deny the fundamental truths of the Gospel, they explained themselves as not having felt it necessary, in these controversial writings, to dwell on what all Christians alike believed. They sought to enforce what they thought was not being sufficiently recognised by those whom they addressed, and on all occasions that required a *full* statement of their Christian belief (such as when called upon by the Governor of Barbadoes), their doctrinals were shown to be fully in accord with those of all Evangelical Christians. Thus orthodox Friends had, in this controversy, no difficulty in obtaining from their published works, conclusive testimonies to the inspiration and authority of Holy Scripture, and the Divinity and mediatorial work of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Elias Hicks, whose name has become associated with that of the unitarian Friends, was, by occupation, a carpenter, and also a farmer. Of a fine stalwart build, he bore in his personal appearance some resemblance to General Washington. His ministry is described as characterised by "an astonishing and animated flow of plain but powerful and penetrating language, a train of argument that lightens, and sentiment that warms whatever it touches." It was not

until the latter part of his long life, that he took that antagonistic attitude to the distinguishing facts and fundamental truths of Christianity, which caused the schism that shook the Society to its foundations, and lost it nearly a third of its members. Families were divided, congregations thrown into commotion, and where the numbers on either side were nearly equal, much difficulty arose, even to contentions in Law Courts over possession of Meeting House Property and Records.

This sad disruption made those who held to orthodox views conscious of having given too great a place to the Journals and writings of Early Friends, and a use of Manuals or selections from Scripture, rather than the Sacred Volume itself, to which they now turned with affectionate and earnest attention.

In this they were encouraged through some visits paid them during this painful period by various English Friends, amongst whom Hannah Chapman Backhouse and Anna Braithwaite were—with their husbands—especially earnest in travelling throughout the American meetings, a service of Christian love which was performed by them in arduous journeys through distant and thinly settled districts, involving much personal fatigue and discomfort to those, who, like themselves, were accustomed to all the refinements of wealthy homes. These they freely left for years at a time, in the desire to stimulate a closer and more reverential study of the text and teachings of Holy Scripture, and continued the service even after

pressure of business had summoned their husbands home.

Notwithstanding this separation in 1827, both sections continue to be known as Friends, though for distinction one is termed Hicksite and the other Orthodox. Both have numerous and large establishments in meeting premises, schools, and colleges but it is only with the Orthodox section, that the English Friends continue to hold correspondence. It has proved itself the more vigorous section, for whilst the other is marked by much culture, spiritual feeling, and social influence, its numerical accessions have depended chiefly on family increase; whilst the other, that retains belief in a Divine Saviour, has, in a desire to promote and extend His kingdom in the heart, gained so many adherents that out of the 100,000 now bearing the name of Friends in America, only 22,000 do not belong to the Orthodox section. It has expanded over the Western prairies, forming fresh Yearly Meetings through large accessions due to these zealous efforts. It has also been responsive to our Lord's command of preaching the gospel to every creature, and maintains successful missions in Indian territories, in Mexico, Syria, and Japan, besides giving liberal support to evangelistic labours in other directions.

It was not only by declining correspondence with the followers of Elias Hicks, that English Friends testified to their own orthodoxy, for they had had several instances amongst themselves, which required from them

a decision as to which section they belonged. One was of a woman Friend from America, whose ministry, as she travelled in England and Ireland, was of a character that awakened such uneasiness amongst the elders, that her visit was promptly closed by her acceding to their expressed wish for her return.

Not long after this a London Monthly Meeting had to deal with one of its members on account of his Unitarian sentiments, that had led him so far as to subscribe to an organisation for spreading these views. After much patient effort had failed to effect any change it proceeded to his disownment, according to the advice given in a minute of the Society, dated as early as 1694, "that if there be any such gross errors, false doctrine, or mistakes held by any professing truth, as are either against the validity of Christ's sufferings, blood, resurrection, ascension, or glory in the heavens, according as they are set forth in the Scriptures, or any-wise tending to the denial of the Heavenly Man Christ," such, it proceeds to say, should if persisting in these after instruction and remonstrance, "be further dealt with according to Gospel order, that the Truth, Church, or Body of Christ may not suffer by any particular pretended member that is 'so corrupt.'"

From this decision of his Monthly Meeting, the Friend appealed to the Quarterly, and on finding its judgment given against him, carried his case, as was his right, to be finally decided by the Society at large in Yearly Meeting assembled.

Such appeals, where faith and doctrine is con-

cerned, are not heard like others by committees, but in the Meeting itself, which on this occasion, through the great interest awakened, formed a crowded assembly of near upon a thousand men Friends of varied age, rank, and education.

The appellant fully availed himself of such opportunity for shewing how his views were, as he contended, within the lines of the Society's ancient belief, which his very superior abilities and culture enabled him to expound and enforce, in a manner well calculated to favourably impress so large and varied an assembly. But he was confronted with brethren who, if they could not equal him in oratorical powers, were well prepared with extracts and documents of an authoritative character in support of their case, "that the appellant, having departed from the Society's principles, could no longer be retained as a member."

Several sittings, prolonged through hours at a time, having been thus spent and both parties having declared that they had been fully and fairly heard, the appellant and his assistants and the respondents withdrew to leave the large and deeply moved Assembly to its decision on this momentous question. "A solemn silence (wrote one who was present) prevailed, and continued for a considerable time. At length an elderly Friend arose—as remarkable for his clearness of mind as he was striking from his pleasing and venerable appearance. In a single expressive sentence he gave his judgment against the appellant. Then many other elder Friends arose one after another with the same conclusion; then

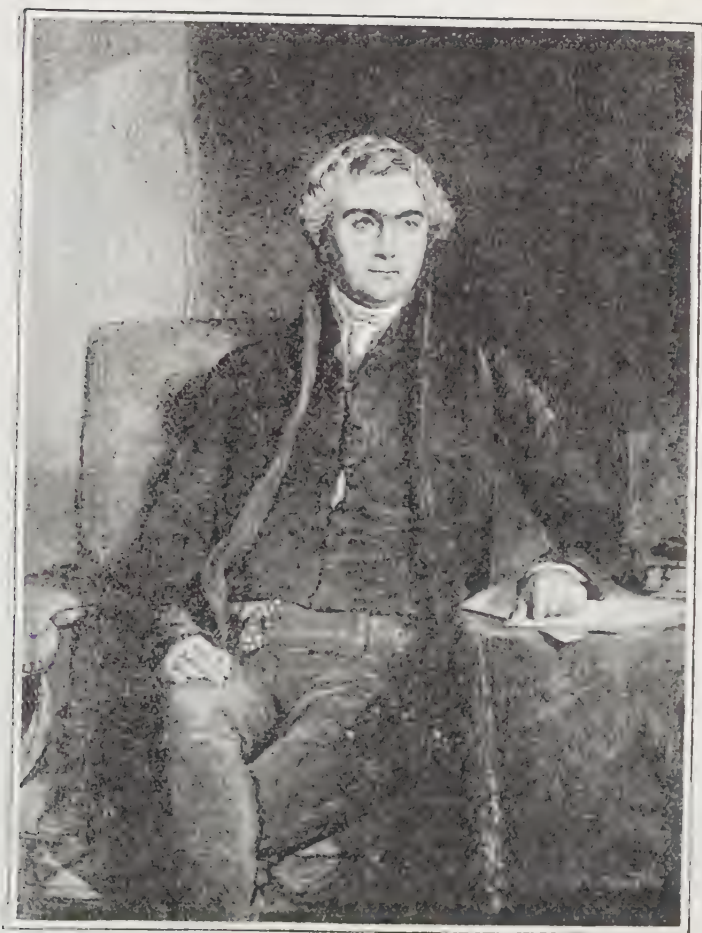
others from all parts of the meeting of various ages, circumstances, and characters, in a general concurrence that cast the verdict of that great gathering adverse to the appellant in an unmistakable adhesion to evangelical doctrine."

Thus the Yearly Meeting when challenged by individuals gave its firm adhesion to Evangelical principles, but it found itself and the whole Society greatly disturbed, some ten years afterwards (1836), by a controversy that arose respecting the obligation of Christians to observe the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It may be said to have arisen in a measure from an earnest study of the original Greek text of Scripture through Bible Classes, by which many came to regard it as a literal guide in *practice* as well as doctrine, so that "resigning themselves to its guidance, they began to find *water* in the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, and *bread* and *wine* in the command, Matt. xxvi. 26-30.

Several prominent ministers in the Society, now submitted to the one rite and practised the other, making no reserve in pressing a similar compliance on others as a religious duty.

Such teaching and conduct occasioned great disunion and controversy, and it was in vain that the Yearly Meeting by its committees, endeavoured to effect some settlement of the question. It resulted in the Society holding firm amid such discussion, to its ancient testimony of the non-obligatory character of these ceremonials. As a consequence, those who could



JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

not but regard them as Ordinances of Divine appointment withdrew, and in such numbers as to inflict upon the Society a loss, the more severe from these dissentients having been some of its most esteemed members for character, piety, and intelligence. Other communities, especially the Evangelical section of the Anglican Church, which most of them eventually joined, reaped no doubt much advantage by the accession to their ranks of such zealous, pious, and intellectual converts.

How much further the rent might have gone it is impossible to say, if some gifted minds had not arisen to stand as in the breach and reconcile the waverers on the question of the non-obligatory character of Ritual for Christians. Amongst these none became more prominent than Joseph John Gurney and William Forster, the one learned, wealthy, and gracefully persuasive in his discourse, the other deep and fervent, both thoroughly imbued with evangelical views, and in the highest esteem amongst their friends for Christian and social virtues.

Joseph John Gurney having a reputation for Scholarship and Biblical acquirements, could well promote a study of Holy Scripture in preference to the use of Manuals and doctrinal Abstracts, until then much in vogue, especially in schools, and by contrasting and applying varied passages from the Old and New Testaments, succeeded in making it seen that the Scriptures are the best interpreters of their own meaning ; a Lock, to which they themselves give the opening Key.

He would do this in so pleasing and convincing a manner as to interest while it edified—none more so than the young—at the various Schools to whose Biblical instruction he attended with the deepest solicitude.

He was a voluminous Author on doctrinal subjects, and a great traveller in the work of the ministry, not alone in Great Britain but also America. His discourses were often long expositions of Christian Truths in a style so impressive that a burlesque of the day said “If the lawn in thy hand were but riband and band, oh how as a bishop thou’dest shine, Joseph John.” The Friends’ community owes to him very much in having stemmed the tide of secession from its ranks of those who thought that to reverence Scripture aright, was to accept its *literal* interpretation in *ceremonial* observances.

William Forster, his most intimate friend, was devoted from his youthful manhood, to the service of the Gospel. He never followed any profession for a livelihood, though he had been trained to his father’s of surveyor and land agent. His early dedication added to the impressiveness of his deep and earnest expositions of Gospel truth, free from all external rites and ceremonies, and the power and pathos of his eloquent discourse aroused the consciences and warmed the hearts of his hearers. So extensive were his travels in this service of Gospel love, that it has been said “hardly any Friends in any part of the three Kingdoms but had enjoyed the opportunity of listening to William Forster,

as he set forth to them the unfathomable mysteries of the Divine love in Christ Jesus, and dwelt upon the fallen state of Man."

By his marriage in early middle life with Anna Buxton he had sufficient means for a country residence, where he might have lived continuously in a quiet way well suited to his natural love of ease, but he never allowed his own comforts to interfere with seldom ceasing labours; now to serve the starving Irish by personal exertions—that tired out many a younger assistant—in its years of sore famine, then to travel hither and thither on some service throughout the British Isles, and (wretched sailor as he was, like so many another bulky person) he crossed and recrossed the Atlantic three or four times on missions of ministry or mercy to the American continent, the last of which (as will be seen in the Chapter on Slavery) cost him his life.

Though it may seem invidious to name any of the many others who equally laboured for settlement in this time of unrest, yet it may be noted how much its attainment was due to the calm and dignified wisdom of Samuel Tuke, the indefatigable solicitude of Josiah Forster, the steadfastness of a George Stacey, a Grover Kemp, a Joseph Tregelles Price, or the advisory help of a Joseph Davis; men representative of so many more; with Susanna Corder, guardian and instructress of maiden youth, and other sister Friends, wise in Christian counsel and experience. Ministry of a varied kind abounded, from the rich mosaic Joseph Shewell would construct from apposite

texts, or what his brother John would more logically evolve from the same source, the strident tones of a Thomas Shillitoe, or the stream of verbal and Doctrinal eloquence amounting with some to enchantment, that would flow by the hour together from a John Pease—these, amid so many others were as pillars in the Church. Women Friends there were in the same ministry—cogent as Hannah Backhouse, gracefully persuasive as Elizabeth Fry, copious as Elizabeth Dudley, and stately in Gospel peroration as a Mary Ann Bayes. To such as these, those who can recall times of fifty years ago, trace much influence in steadying minds to Friends' principles, and raising a generation prepared to carry on the Society for future service in its coming years.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FRIENDS AS PIONEERS IN PHILANTHROPIC EFFORTS.

THE presence in any country of a community widely dispersed and well organised like the Friends, pledged to right living, must under Divine guidance prove morally influential.

That England's betterment has been thus promoted is manifest by their continued exertions in the cause of philanthropy and social reform. Not so much by official acts of the Society, although these have never failed, but through a general willingness and aptitude of its members everywhere to serve as *pioneers* in efforts for the abolition of evils, or introduction of social reforms, and to form a phalanx around which good men of every shade of opinion could rally for their promotion.

As it would be unfair to claim Friends as the exclusive originators of any one of the great social movements of the age, so would it be yet more unjust to forget that many of its prominent reforms have owed their success to support given by them at times when authorities opposed, or public opinion was in a state of indifference to what are now recognized as blessings of freedom and justice to Society at large.

When Thomas Clarkson's youthful spirit had been stirred by the horrors of the slave trade, the only book-

seller he could find willing to publish his essay for its abolition was William Phillips ; a Friend in whose parlour gathered the first little group of some dozen warm hearts that pledged themselves thenceforth to agitate without ceasing, for an end to this iniquitous trafficking in their fellow men, and of these twelve three-fourths were Friends.

So when some half-century of unceasing labour had ended in the abolition both of the Slave trade and Slavery from British Dominions, and a great gathering in Freemasons' Hall met to celebrate the victory, those who look upon the picture of it, painted by Haydon, will see that most of the faces which crowd his huge canvass, and most of the principal figures seated around the patriarchal Clarkson are members of the Society of Friends.

With this Society was Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton connected both by descent and close association, and through one of its gifted Ministers, a dearly beloved sister-in-law, he was induced by her earnest entreaties addressed to him from a dying couch, to give his energy and tenacity of purpose to a cause in which her own heart's feelings had been greatly enlisted. From such a source an appeal came to him almost as a Divine command, for Priscilla Gurney possessed spiritual and mental endowments, as much held in affectionate remembrance by her Friends, as those of her sister Elizabeth Fry have come to be esteemed by the world at large.

Then as to Public Elementary Education. When

Joseph Lancaster, a young Friend, was showing in his School at the Borough Road how large numbers could be so taught by Monitors as to reduce its cost, none rallied more firmly to his support than members of his own Society. By their zealous efforts the system of Monitorial education spread to the opening of such schools all over the country. The local committees for their management were at first chiefly formed from amongst the Friends, to whose generous contributions England stands largely indebted for the school buildings that quickly arose in her cities and country towns.

None worked more zealously in this cause than William Allen, the philosophic and philanthropic chemist of Lombard Street, by whose personal influence many of the great and noble were induced to favour extension of Education to classes, which public opinion then thought it best for their easier government to keep in ignorance. It led to the formation of the British and Foreign School Society, to which he acted for many years as honorary secretary.

Then again at a time when mobs would gather week by week around scaffolds to feast their brutalised gaze on the executions of fellow creatures, often for but trifling offences, none of the humane hearts shocked at this legalised cruelty gathered more persistently than Friends around a Romilly, a Basil Montague, or a Lushington, to inaugurate those efforts that have at last abolished the death penalty from no less than one hundred and sixty offences and confined its rare infliction to the gravest of crimes.

Long before a Shaftesbury had come upon the scene, when thieves held such possession that none ventured near their quarters without some officer of the law, the person of a Peter Bedford, of Spitalfields, was ever welcome as one who, whilst condemning the sin could pity the sinner, and who strove for his reformation by acts of kindness that oft saved him from punishment by gaol or halter. His judicious benevolence, exerted in many ways on behalf of the poor by personal visits, raising funds in times of distress, promoting soup kitchens, clothing clubs, &c., made his long residence in these oft distressed localities a blessing. Old age found him in a country retirement, rejoicing in the general efforts made for social amelioration of the lower and criminal classes. He had many an anecdote of his personal experiences amongst them, of which one, though but trivial in character, may be permitted as showing how even thieves respected his belongings. They had taken off luggage from the post-chaise of a bridal party, that came in distress to Peter for help. He at once knew where to go and reproached the captain of the gang. "Very sorry (he replied) no idea it was one of yourn Friends, we never touch them if we knows it—the things shall be on your doorstep to-night,"—and so they were, but not the portmanteaus themselves which had been already destroyed. To meet with characters such as Peter Bedford, working quietly for good at the dawn of this century, is like coming on the bubblings up of the fountain, in comparison with the broad stream of benevolence that

happily now flows towards these *then* much-neglected classes of society.

At regular and frequent intervals were Lord Mayors found presiding in solemn state at Courts of Assize, yet giving little heed as to how those brought before them were being cared for within the massive walls that adjoined their Judgment Hall.

It was a French Friend who first unveiled the wretched state of prisoners in Newgate. Stephen Grellet whilst visiting London on gospel service obtained permission to visit these, and after his interviews with the men prisoners, requested to be shown into the *women's* ward. "You will enter there (replied the jailor) at your own peril, for those demons will tear the clothes from your back." Unappalled at the prospect, he entered alone, and his look, manner, and voice, as he lovingly addressed them, made him seem as an angel to their astonished gaze, whilst they crowded around in earnest attention.

Never before had such words of kindness reached their ears, and never before had this Christian nobleman—as was Grellet by rank—seen such misery within prison walls as these poor creatures showed in their ragged half-clothed condition. He hastened to his Friend, Elizabeth Fry, with an account of what he had discovered as the state of London's chief prison. Her warm heart, touched at the narration, summoned a group of women friends to meet that afternoon in the parlour of her husband's Bank, where many a bright face and skilled hand quickly transformed the

flannel she had ordered of the tradesmen, into some garments for the newly-born babes amongst these poor neglected sisters of a criminal class, whom none until then had thought worthy of care except for imprisonment, transportation, or death.

Furnished with these outward proofs of kindness, her own visit next day to Newgate aided the effect of her loving and majestic presence, and proved the commencement of what issued in regular Bible readings amongst them, and led also to the formation of Committees for Prison inspection, and to those wide measures of reform with which the name of this remarkable Friend is so closely associated.

In efforts for abolition of capital punishment, another member of the Society became so deeply interested, as to spend nights and days throughout many a year in preparing documents and appeals, and in personal efforts with those in authority, until the tall form and finely chiselled features of John Thomas Barry, dressed in the Friendliest of Friends' costume, became a familiar object in the Lobbies of the Houses of Parliament, whose members each in turn would be made the subject of his earnest solicitations for an entire abolition of the death penalty.

No less persistent was the benevolence of a Friend physician towards the native population of Foreign Lands, on whose behalf Dr. Thomas Hodgkin founded the Aborigines' Protection Society, at a time when "whites treated blacks as if they were but wild beasts"—happily, and largely through these efforts,



ELIZABETH FRY IN NEWGATE, 1818.
(After a painting by Mrs. E. M. Ward.)

treated so no longer. His character for universal benevolence received from Sir Moses Montefiore, whom he often accompanied as physician in his long journeys, a generous tribute by his having erected an obelisk over the grave at Jaffa, where the doctor died during one of these expeditions, engraved with the classic sentence, "No man, if he be a man, can be to me other than a brother."

Friends' well known prominence in the Temperance and Total Abstinence movement is the more observable, seeing how many of them were at one time engaged in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, so that it would have been as difficult in the early years of this century to find a town or city where some member of the Society was not a leading Maltster, Brewer, or Wine Merchant, as it is now to meet with any engaged in such trades, or having their produce in their homes or on their tables. Some of the most successful advocates for the change have come from among themselves, such as Samuel Bowly, of Gloucester, who may be credited through his drawing-room meetings with much of the support gained to the cause of total abstinence from among the upper ranks, and especially the clergy. "Never," said one of the leading dignitaries of the present day, "have I listened to a more persuasive speaker."

So earnest also at all times have Friends been for the promotion of Peace and condemnation of War, that their position in this question must be treated of in a separate chapter.

In the foundation and work of the British and Foreign Bible Society no one Friend may have become prominent, though few members of its present Committee have travelled further in Foreign Lands to promote its interests, than their much esteemed colleague, J. B. Braithwaite. Nor can the long service of the Forster Brothers, with that of many other Friends, have been forgotten. The presence of a "Friend" element on the Committee was until late years so marked that a devotional pause for free offerings of prayer was observed, instead of opening with any delegated service. But Friends' chief assistance to the cause was rendered in the formation and working of Auxiliary societies all over the country, these being found to become independent centres around which other Denominations would rally. Meetings arranged by them would be attended by earnest minded Christians of all denominations, and the travelling agents of the Society, such as Dr. Steinkopff and others, learnt to highly value and esteem the Friends who offered them the hospitality of their homes, at a time when the Gentry were apathetic, and Clerical dignitaries fearful, lest a free circulation of Scripture should lessen regard for the Lessons taken from it as read in Churches. On the Friends themselves the association it brought with those of other denominations had a beneficial effect, in liberalising views that in any close attention to Society interest might have become narrow or exclusive.

In Political affairs their influence as Electors has



JOHN BRIGHT.

been Liberal, often Radical, and their service as Members has been marked by that high moral tone politicians of all shades recognised in John Bright, of which also William Edward Forster, who was nurtured in the same Society, gave proof in the manner by which he was able to steer an Education Bill into legal operation that had hitherto baffled all previous Statesmen, and one which in its successful operation has largely realised the poetically expressed aspirations of Wordsworth :

O for the coming of that glorious time
 When prizing Knowledge as her noblest wealth,
 And best protection, this Imperial Realm,
 While she exacts Allegiance shall admit
 An Obligation on Her part to *Teach*
 Those who are born to serve Her and obey,
 Binding Herself by Statute to secure
 For all the children whom her soil maintains,
 The rudiments of letters and inforce
 The mind with Moral and Religious Truth.

Foremost as Friends have shown themselves amongst the labourers for general education, freedom, and social reform, it may also be observed that across the Ocean their influence has left its mark on the framework of the great American Nation, whose constitution still bears foundation traces of the original basis of perfect civil and religious liberty, which Friends exemplified in the settlement of Pennsylvania; within whose Capital its declaration of Independence was signed, and it is still the one which amongst all its sisters who crowd the Nation's Star-spangled Banner, bears the name of the "Key-stone State."

CHAPTER XXIII.

SLAVERY.

He who values Liberty confines
His zeal for her predominance, within
No narrow bounds, her cause engages him,
Wherever pleaded—'Tis the cause of Man.

COWPER—*Winter Morning Walk.*

ENGLISH Friends first made acquaintance with the system of Negro Slavery when their early ministers visited the West India Islands, and found how many fellow countrymen, settled there, were become dependent on bondsmen for the cultivation of sugar plantations. These they exhorted "to deal mildly and gently with their negroes and not use cruelty towards them, and that after certain years of servitude, they would make them free."

They also held religious meetings amongst this slave population, in the assurance of their being as much entitled to the blessings of the gospel as their masters, and they induced those of the Settlers who became Friends to continue this Christian interest in their welfare.

This conduct caused much opposition, from a belief that the blacks were an inferior race, unworthy of liberty or regard as Christian beings, and could only be managed safely through their state of ignorance being left undisturbed, the removal of which was dreaded by

the masters as likely to produce rioting and rebellion amongst them.

Without any such fears the Friends continued solicitous for their slaves' welfare, and on settling in Pennsylvania pursued the same kind treatment towards those they acquired by purchase from the merchants, who traded thither with cargoes of these human beings from Africa. Thus the race of bondsmen which grew up in an otherwise free country, were so well cared for that Watson in his *Annals* affirms of them that "in contrast to others, those of Philadelphia were a happier class of people than the *free blacks*."

The earliest protest against this system came from some German Friends settled near Philadelphia, who in 1688 addressed their Monthly Meeting in an earnest appeal, claiming equal rights of *body*, as well as conscience, for all peaceably conducted inhabitants of the State, whatever might be their colour or race.* Their views were in advance of their time, even among Friends. The Monthly Meeting when thus addressed, thought it "too weighty a subject for them to meddle with," and likewise the Quarterly, to which it was next referred, and the Yearly on its consideration "felt it had so general a relation to many other parts that they forbore at that present to give positive judgment in the case"—for as Whittier observes in his

*A facsimile of this earliest appeal—the original of which was discovered a few years since—may be seen in the Gallery of the London Friends' Institute, with the signatures of Pastorius and others.

lines on Pastorius, who was a leading member of this little group of freedom's advocates :

Wealth and station had their sanction lent
To hardened avarice on its gains intent,
But still these tender hearts their burden bore,
In warning message to the Church's door.

And there the leaven of humanity and justice worked, though but slowly as it must be confessed, for it was not until forty years afterwards that Yearly Meetings in London and America concurred in condemning the practice of importing negroes from their native country, and directed that those already in possession "should be trained up in the principles of the Christian religion." Within another half-century, however, all Friends were become clear both in England and America, not only of *trafficking* in, but also of *holding* slaves, and none, moreover, were allowed to remain members who did not on giving these poor creatures their freedom make some remunerative provision for their future.

It is impossible to look upon these efforts of the Society to be freed of having any share in claiming "a property in the human race as if they were beasts who perish," without attention being drawn to three American citizens, of widely different stamp, yet each in his way largely instrumental in rousing this crusade against Slavery. Of this trio Benjamin Lay's share was marked by eccentricity, Anthony Benezet's by a Frenchman's fervour, and John Woolman's with saintly persistence, to each of whom some personal

allusions may be admitted. Of Benjamin Lay (who, to be clear of the gains of oppression, lived hermit-like in a cave) Whittier remarks, "his appearance was in keeping with his eccentric life. A figure only four feet and a half high, hunch-backed, with projecting chest, legs small and arms longer than his legs, a huge head, showing beneath an enormous white hat, large solemn eyes and a prominent nose ; the rest of his face covered with a snowy semi-circle of beard falling low on his breast." Such was the little man, who, as an "irrepressible prophet, troubled the Israel of slave-holding Friends."

A former residence in the West Indies had wrought in him this horror of a system that he grieved to see taking root in the free soil of Pennsylvania, and no protest could, in his opinion, be too vehement in its condemnation. He would accordingly waylay congregations, coming from their places of worship, to harangue them on its iniquity—and close his violent denunciations by sword thrusts into a bladder at his side, which, charged with red fluid, sent it streaming amongst them as witness to their blood-guiltiness towards the poor slaves. His evident sincerity of purpose had no doubt its effect, and when told on his death-bed, at an advanced age, that Friends had at last, when assembled in the Yearly Meeting of 1758, resolved to rid themselves of any further share in this system, he exclaimed, "Thanksgiving and praise be rendered unto the Lord God, I can now die in peace."

Anthony Benezet, who was one of the Frenchmen

settled in Philadelphia, united learning and judgment with the vivacity of his race, that made him influential not only in personal advocacy, but also by his published works and through his large correspondence in awakening minds both in England and America, to the sin of holding fellow men in bonds, "and living in ease and plenty by the toil of those whom violence and cruelty have put out of power to help themselves." Granville Sharp considered one of his works to have had much influence on public opinion, in supporting Lord Mansfield's famous decision of 1772, that "so soon as a Slave sets foot on English soil his freedom is assured."

"Slaves"—exclaimed the Poet of Olney—"cannot breathe in England, if their lungs imbibe our air that moment they are free. They touch our Country and their shackles fall."

Of John Woolman, language cannot adequately describe the deep sense of saintliness and worth, which a perusal of the published Journal of his life's labours produces. Humble as he was in his circumstances, being only a small tradesman and law writer, he travelled far and oft on gospel service intent; ever an unflinching advocate for equal rights to all humanity. In the course of this disinterested labour he came to England, where to the great grief of his friends, he died soon after arrival at York, in 1772. The Journal published after his decease is what Charles Lamb advises "all to get by heart and love the early Friends." May it not further be added, love

also what he and they have done for the slave.

Friends' consciences having been cleared both in England and America, first of dealing in or importing negroes, and also, by 1782, of having any members, who continued to hold slaves, they were prepared for that Anti-Slavery Crusade, in which from first to last their presence was so effectively conspicuous. Like many another great effort it had but a small commencement. The formation of an Association for the Abolition of Negro Slavery was made, it is said, at the instance of William Dillwyn, a Friend from America, who with eleven others met in the parlour of a Friend publisher's, and chose as their chairman Granville Sharp, who with Thomas Clarkson and one other, were the only individuals composing that little group that were not Friends. In 1787 this struggle in the cause of the Slave began, and not till 1834 were the British dominions made wholly free to all men.

Strange alternation of hope and disappointment marked those fifty years of abolition contest, which took deeper hold of the National mind and conscience after each successive defeat, that self interested parties secured for it in the Legislature, until at last twenty millions sterling were willingly devoted in compensation to slave-holders for the Nation to be freed of their bondsmen.

The *Slave Trade* had been declared illegal as piracy thirty years before, but only by efforts of an intensely sustained character, had that national sentiment of injustice and wrong been formed, that swept

all slavery away from British dominion before its irresistible current.

Whilst the public mind associates the great names of a Wilberforce, a Clarkson, and a Buxton, with this success, none more than they knew what was due to the Society of Friends, who everywhere had supported them in their laborious and prolonged contest. Clarkson, in his work on the subject, has earnestly expressed "what we have been compelled to prove to others by a long chain of evidence, that negroes have the same feelings and capacities as ourselves, and that they ought to be considered as persons ransomed by one and the same Saviour, and as visited by the same light for salvation."

If space permitted many an excellent Address might be quoted, which the Yearly Meeting had issued to encourage its members in perseverance, through times when it seemed hoping against hope to look for success, each based on the recognition of equality of mankind in the sight of their Creator and Redeemer.

It now desired that all Nations might become like the British, free from what it described as so "**mani-**fold an atrocity, that we think even the history of the whole world does not furnish a parallel to its crime"—one which—"we deem it scarcely possible for a man of the most comprehensive mind fully to possess himself of the extent of the evil." Such are expressions to be found in a long and fervent appeal issued by the London Yearly Meeting of 1849, which through its Committee it proceeded to lay before Rulers and States-

men on the continent of Europe, and then in a similar manner to gain for it attention from the Governors of the American States. In this arduous service of several years' duration, William Forster had a leading share.

It took him to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Bavaria, Italy and Spain. In nearly all cases he and his companions succeeded in obtaining interviews with kings, emperors, statesmen, and officials, and copies of the Address thus presented were largely circulated in those countries. After four years thus spent, William Forster with three companions proceeded in 1853 to North America, where interviews were had with the President, and also the Governors of most of the States, until, when the service of love was near upon its conclusion, he was laid to his rest—at three score and ten—in far off Tennessee.

Beneath that massive form a heart was bleeding

For all earth's woe ;

'Till the strained tension burst the clay-built dwelling,

And laid it low.

M. E. BECK.

He sought not glory, but he found

A glorious death at last ;

When on the slavers' blighted ground,

He sank beneath the blast.

ANNA GURNEY.

His brother Josiah, William Holmes, and John Candler, who had been united with him in this arduous service, were able to complete it by having interviews with the Governors of the few remaining States, not previously visited, before returning to England.

In the midst of such general zeal amongst the Friends in the anti-slavery cause, it may seem invidious to mention individual efforts, but it should not be forgotten how a Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey, George William Alexander, and several others were at the pains of travelling on various occasions to the West Indies that they might testify of what they themselves had seen of the evils they laboured to remove. Nor how William Allen journeyed to Paris and Verona, attendant on the Congresses assembled there to settle the peace of Europe, and by his influence with the Duke of Wellington, gained opportunities to plead with some success the Negro's cause. Nor amidst the host of advocates it elicited in our own Land, should be left unnoticed the manner in which a Samuel Bowly could, without any oratorical training, confront and confound in speeches of three hours' length, a practised advocate of the West India interests before vast audiences in Exeter Hall, and by his forcible and pathetic appeals rouse in them a generous and contagious enthusiasm, greatly assistant to a national desire for the slaves' emancipation.

Reverting to America it will be found that the Northern States followed the example of Pennsylvania in abolishing Slavery, but out of the thirteen then composing the Union, seven of those in the South cherished it as an institution indispensable to their welfare, and many Friends resident amongst them, in order to be free from its participation, moved off into the new settlements of the far west, where they are to be found amongst the

most enterprising and successful of its populations.

Events connected with the extinction of Slavery throughout the vast American nation, are too recent to need mention here, save to observe that the sea of bloodshed which ultimately swept it away might have been avoided, if the Rulers and people would have given effect to the earnest remonstrances, addressed them from time to time, by earnest philanthropists of every shade of opinion, but by none more persistently than the Friends. "Is it not just and reasonable," they had asked, "to fear, if the gentle language of His Spirit 'Let this people go' is not attended to, that He will, by terrible things in righteousness, evince His sovereignty and sustain the character of a God of Justice, Who is no respecter of persons."

So deaf an ear was turned to these and similar appeals, that when Spurgeon devoted one of his sermons to the cause of Emancipation it had the effect of stopping the sale of his Works, that had had till then an enormous American circulation. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" succeeded better, as its beneficial influence pervaded countries both old and new.

It is satisfactory to learn—according to recent testimony—that those who are able to look back upon the old days of slave-owning, with all its cares and responsibilities, and who have since had experience of free labour, would not, if they could, restore the old order of things, for wages are found to be the most effective incentive to industry ; and the actual cost of free labour is proved to be less than was that of slavery.

Such was what the friends of the Negro always maintained would be the result of his emancipation, whilst its opponents were declaring he was but an animal that would only work under fear of the lash.

NOTE.—It will be obvious that no attempt has been made to review the general aspect of the great Anti-slavery movement, but only to note some aspects of the important share Friends had in effecting the freedom of the Slave.

They felt from the first he was entitled as a fellow creature to their moral and religious care which developed into so strong a conviction of the injustice of "Man holding property in Man," that they cleared themselves of any participation in Slavery; and so soon as this was the case their energies became successfully devoted to the cause of universal freedom.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TREATMENT OF THE INSANE.

AMONG efforts made by Friends for mankind's improvement, those on behalf of the Insane deserve mention, on account of their success having had much influence, in producing the generally kind and scientific treatment, now accorded to such as are mentally afflicted.

These it had been the custom to treat as prisoners, rather than invalids, from the belief that their state was more akin to a demoniacal possession than suffering from curable disease. This popular conception of the complaint made their places of confinement, with their small and strongly barred windows, to resemble jails rather than hospitals, and the more violent cases were loaded with irons, or sought to be subdued by corporal chastisement—many were chained as for life like wild beasts, had only straw for bedding, and were dealt with as those hopelessly lost to all claims on humane treatment.

Under circumstances of this kind, Friends in York had had their sympathies aroused by the loss of one of their members in 1791, within a few weeks after her admission to the County Asylum, where none of her relatives had been allowed to visit her. The question raised itself in their minds, whether such *mental* afflictions could not be treated with the same

judgment and tenderness as those of the *body*, instead of the barbarous methods then in practice, "far more calculated to depress and degrade than to awaken the slumbering reason or correct its wild hallucinations."

Animated by these sentiments, William Tuke,* (a born leader of men) induced his York Friends to unite with him in an appeal to the whole Society, for the establishment of an Institution of its own, where the experiment of a kind and curative treatment might be made.

It obtained a sufficient response, in shareholders and contributors, to enable the purchase of an Estate in the neighbourhood of York, and the erection of premises, to which was given the more agreeable name of a "Retreat," which its home-like appearance in pleasantly arranged grounds well supported.

Here by the adoption of a system of classification, it was possible to apply varied treatment to the different nature of the cases, all of whom were under a kind resident physician's care as his *patients*, rather than *prisoners*. Their sleeping and day apartments were well lighted by, to all appearance, ordinary sash windows instead of grated openings, although little as the patients might know it so far as look was concerned, the sash bars were not wood but iron in their strength; a fact which few probably tested, for the absence of apparent iron bars produced a quieting effect on their minds.

* "In person," writes a contemporary of William Tuke "he hardly reached the middle size, but was erect, portly, and of a fine step. He had a noble forehead, an eagle eye, and a commanding voice, and his mien was dignified and patriarchal."

Cases of cure quickly followed on these humane arrangements, which, in consequence, began to attract the attention of the Medical profession and the Public generally.

Similar but *independent* changes were being made about the same time in France, where Pinel, a benevolent physician, succeeded in obtaining control over one of the largest of the madhouses in Paris, and to the astonishment of the Faculty, liberated successfully some fifty cases, till then thought so dangerous as to have been kept heavily chained for many years. Some of them had even murdered their keepers in spasms of raging madness, but now with regained reason went out after awhile, freed from the dense mental darkness or fury that had so long afflicted them. One of the worst of these, it is interesting to find, was the means of saving Pinel's life, by rescuing him from a mob that, in the time of the French Revolution, was hurrying him to death, till this man rushed in and successfully pleaded his cause.

One of William Tuke's grandsons, largely endowed with his ancestor's gifts, summarised in an able work published in 1813, what had been the results of this new method of treating the Insane, as shewn by experience gained in the Retreat during some 15 years, which, together with these Foreign instances, so much interested the medical profession and local authorities, as to gradually work that entire change in the treatment of those mentally afflicted, which now happily prevails.

Besides the good effect of this publication, Samuel Tuke was incidentally the means of influencing the arrangements adopted in the large pauper Asylum at Hanwell, which was one of the earliest erected on the system now generally adopted. The young Friend whose design proved successful among those sent in by architects in the competition for this great building, drew his inspiration from having paid Samuel Tuke a visit at York, for it was his advice and information that led him to cast aside what he had already prepared, and work out afresh those designs which, as it proved were adopted by the Magistrates from amongst the large number sent in to them, by members of the architectural profession, for their choice.

The Retreat has in this year 1892 completed its centenary, and at a gathering held on the occasion Dr. Clouston, as President of the Medical Psychological Association, said "the system there adopted had been the key-note, the example to every succeeding hospital in the country. There was no doubt that York was the very Mecca of the mental physician," and if so, it may be asked, was not William Tuke its Prophet?

NOTE.—It should be borne in mind that Dr. Conolly, of the Hanwell Asylum was the first to apply the system so thoroughly as to abolish the use of *all* methods of physical restraint, and rely on constant supervision, constant kindness, and firmness alone. He became a great authority on the construction of our county asylums and their management, and he bore his testimony that to the works of Pinel and Samuel Tuke "society was indebted for nearly all these improvements."

CHAPTER XXV.

TESTIMONY AGAINST ALL WAR.

“Are Friends faithful in our testimony against bearing arms, and being in any manner concerned in the militia, in privateers, letters of marque, or armed vessels, or dealing in prize goods?”—Query as formerly. “Are you faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all war, as inconsistent with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel?”—Query as now in “Christian Discipline.”

THE uniform testimony borne by Friends as a Society from their beginning, against any participation in War of all kinds, whether offensive or defensive, deserves fuller mention than the allusions hitherto made, from its having been so diverse to the views held on this subject, by most, if not all other religious communities.

Wars and rumours of wars abounded when their voice was first raised against the military system that had made of Europe one great battle-field, and reddened many a fair landscape in England, through hard fought contests in a civil war. Against such scenes of strife the ministers of various forms of religion were so far from protesting, as to have themselves taken a share in them.

France had seen a Cardinal Richelieu accoutred with a cuirass, riding at the head of royal armies. Huguenot preachers carried swords as well as Bibles,

and made no reserve in using the one with the assumed sanction of the other ; nor were Puritan ministers loth to regard the two-edged sword of scripture, as indicative of the permitted use of a carnal as well as a spiritual weapon, and colonels and captains in parliamentary forces were not at that time thought out of place in a pulpit. It was a divinity reader of Calvinistic persuasion who wrote "That it is lawful to defend religion by force of arms, not only against the assaults of such foreign nations as have no jurisdiction over us, but also against any part of the same commonwealth which doth endeavour to subvert it."

Remembering the high sanction thus given to war, it is easier to understand how authorities at Derby should have felt no inconsistency in offering liberty to the young preacher they had imprisoned, if he would but officer one of the troops they had raised for the Commonwealth's defence. Thus can we also the better appreciate those deeper views of human conduct begotten in George Fox, that led him to choose a continuance in outward bonds, to wounding by the war spirit that love he felt towards all. Not that he enforced this abstinence on others as any outward obligation, but desired to see it arise as resulting from that inward work of the Lord's Spirit on the heart, which had led him in this emergency to resolve "that he could not fight against any, because he had love towards all men."

To him "Love your enemies" was not so much a command as a result of conscious union in Spirit with

Him, Who in love had laid down His life for all men.

Thus on an occasion when, asked by a convert of gentlemanly birth, whether in becoming a Friend the continuance in wearing a sword, then so general a practice, would be thought inconsistent, George Fox replied "Wear it as long as thou canst."

William Penn, though trained at foreign courts to a skilled use of weapons, and the son of a famous Admiral, carried these views, as already shown, into such successful and extensive practice, as to have settled a Colony of thousands of his Friends, like minded with himself, amidst savages passionately addicted to war, without any of the ordinary methods of warlike defence ; he built no Forts in Pennsylvania nor relied for protection, like the Founders of other American settlements, on gunpowder and cannon, and whilst other neighbouring settlements had frequent and sanguinary Indian wars, none such ever visited the soil of Pennsylvania, during the seventy years that the followers of William Penn controlled its government. Once, it is said, in days when they had lost this control and a different policy had led to Indian complications, a party of these dusky warriors came down on a Friends' meeting, breathing fire and slaughter, but over-awed at the sight of such peaceful solemnity, put aside their weapons and their fury, and sat out the meeting as worshippers themselves.

"These Indian chiefs with battle bows unstrung,
Strong, hero-limbed, like those whom Homer sung."

Friends' influence with Indians has been shown in

many ways—and their missionary efforts amongst them are at the present time some of the most successful. Not a few have become members of the Society, and several have proved themselves acceptable ministers of the gospel. Not a very long while back when two Tribes were at deadly feud with one another through mutual reprisals, a party of Friends hearing a battle was imminent, advanced to meet one of these, and found them gathered and painted for the contest, but by discourse and prayer in a solemn assembly induced them to return, although it was believed at the time their enemies had set out to attack them, and so they had—not once but twice started with such intent—and yet had gone back. Why? let those who can believe and trust in the Lord of Peace, determine for themselves.

Friends in Ireland of various times were in the difficult position of living in a country where, without any Official influence, they were exposed to all the results of its unhappy condition as the theatre of war, yet true to their principles they neither sought protection from either of the contending armies, nor attempted to defend themselves by use of weapons from the ruffianly bands that roved unchecked through the land, and amidst the spoil of goods and property, and perils by night and day to themselves and their families, none of them, as we have already seen, lost their *lives* throughout these times of long continued bloodshed and horrible murders.

The English Friends, though spared from scenes of actual warfare, have, nevertheless, had to suffer in

various ways from time to time in the maintenance of their peace principles, especially when any want of sharing in warlike preparations seemed to lay them open to a charge of disloyalty, or lack of patriotism. Such was the public feeling towards them during the rebellion of 1745, until they found means to give some help in a manner which involved no sanction to war, yet showed a Christian love for the soldiers. Friends discovered these were being sent northward, during an inclement winter season, without any warm clothing under their regimentals, which serious deficiency they proceeded to remedy at their own cost, by furnishing every soldier with a flannel waistcoat. It was the saving, no doubt, of many a life, whilst it assured their detractors that an abstention from warlike proceedings had not arisen through lack of loyalty, or want of patriotism, but solely from a religious conviction of the unlawfulness of war to a Christian.

Again, amidst the country's preparations for armed defence against Napoleon's threatened invasion, Friends as a Society remained firm in a conscientious refusal to join or subscribe for the Volunteer forces then being raised ; and preferred, as we have shown, to suffer the secession of very many of their wealthier members—who were not sharers in these views—a loss the community long felt in its diminished social position, but it demonstrated afresh the firmness of its adhesion to this view of Gospel truth. And here also in this national emergency they prepared themselves to serve—if war had broken out—on ambulance corps or in

hospitals, whilst those at the expected scenes of invasion, were enrolled as caretakers over women and children, in case of their flight to a place of safety.

This abstinence from warlike proceedings had its accompaniment in a refusal to unite in any public rejoicings over victories gained in battle by land or sea, and at much risk to property from excited mobs their houses showed no lights amid general illuminations; yet the well-known benevolence of their owners oft spared them from the smashings of glass which few others escaped who had not lights in their windows.

The Crimean War of 1854 was another season of public excitement, when obloquy fell on all who could not approve of this sanguinary effort to check Russia's designs on the East. In the hope of preventing its outbreak, three leading Friends undertook that long and toilsome journey all the way to St. Petersburg, to interview the Czar himself and predispose him to peace. Although the hopes awakened by his favourable reception of them, vanished as he learnt the furiously warlike tone of the English press, yet this loving effort of Joseph Sturge, Robert Charleton, and Henry Pease has borne more fruit than might—from its failure at the time—have been expected. Public attention has become aroused to adopt means for the avoidance of war, as so happily shown by the substitution of Arbitration, in various critical cases of national disputes that have subsequently occurred.

The solicitude of Friends to make restitution in cases where, unauthorised by themselves, their agents

may have inflicted loss on others during times of war, has had several interesting illustrations. One was that of the Fox family of shipowners at Falmouth, who had advertised in France for any who might have been losers from the capture of a vessel by one of their own captains, against his instructions, which so impressed some Frenchmen in the South of France, as to lead to a correspondence that resulted in the formation of a Community, in religious fellowship with English Friends, that lasts to this day, and has furnished several bright examples of religiously peaceable fellow-members.

Another was from an equally unauthorised capture of a Dutch vessel by an English one, in which a London Friend was part owner, and in this case long continued continental wars delayed any attempt at restitution, but the money the Friend had received as his share in the prize was kept so well invested that, when at last all sufferers who could be found were paid with interest up to date, a balance still remained which became applied, at the suggestion of a Dutch Friend, to the establishment of a *free* Infant School in Amsterdam, which was the port from whence the captured ship had sailed. It was the earliest school of the kind there, and for nearly a century has it pursued its useful course in a building named the "Holland's Welfare," which it deserves, not only as having been that of the captured vessel, but also through its past and present benefits to the little ones in a poor quarter of the chief city of that country.

Cases of individual adherence to peace principles at the loss of profit to themselves, are numerous both in England and America, two of which may receive allusion—one of them being William Allen, who as a manufacturing chemist, courteously declined the advantageous offer, Alexander of Russia made him, of the exclusive purveyorship of medicines for the Russian Army; another is that of F. T. King, of Baltimore, who had concluded a good bargain for disposal of some unsaleable goods, but when the would-be customer happened to remark that they would answer his purpose for an Army Contract connected with the Mexican War, “Then,” said Francis King, “there’s no bargain between us, for no goods of mine, however much I may want to be rid of them, shall, knowingly, go towards what, as war, is contrary to my conscientious convictions.”

Of German Friends various cases could be mentioned, of those who preferred to suffer whatever could be inflicted of cruel imprisonment rather than violate their conscientious scruples by learning military drill; but here, as in France, these penalties have been chiefly avoided by the emigration of the young men Friends to avoid conscription, which is a chief cause of the great reduction of the Society in these countries.

The comparatively recent conflict between North and South in America, brought Friends, as might be expected, to a practical test of their anti-war principles. In the Northern States, several of those in high positions were either connected with the Society by descent, or

were too well acquainted with the conscientious character of its objections, to press for any other assistance than what was willingly rendered in hospital and ambulance service, and the more the public felt that the war's existence arose from opposition to Slavery, the less could they charge Friends with want of patriotism, who they knew had always protested against this as an iniquitous system. In the South it was different, yet the Friends there proved even firmer in the maintenance of peace principles than those of the North, where, as in England, some of the wealthier sort gave way, and some of their young men served in the ranks. Down South there were remarkable preservations. Whole villages of Friends were left unmolested in the midst of desolations, and just as the armies of Grant and Lee would have closed in deadly struggle over lands studded with Friends' hamlets, there came the Surrender and the final Peace.

As the strife had deepened, the South called every available youth to their ranks, and some of the young Friend farmers found their refusal to bear arms involved cruelties, of which one case cannot be passed without notice. The musket was strapped to a firmly resisting youth, and he was kept walking by prick of bayonet till he dropped from fatigue. Much else was tried to make of him a soldier, but all in vain, and a court-martial condemned him to be shot. As he was walked to the fatal spot, the firing party heard him say with pious resignation, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and when the officer gave the

word, not a man would pull the trigger. Enraged at their refusal he rode at the youth, floored him with a blow from the flat of his sword, and tried to make his horse finish the affair by trampling on him. But the animal jumped hither and thither without touching the prostrate form, and whilst he was thus urging his charger the trumpet sounded for what proved the sanguinary battle of Gettysburg, and that officer was one of the first who fell. The Friend became a prisoner of war to the Northern army, was recognised as having been a non-combatant, and released.

CHAPTER XXVI.

INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL, AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE.

“Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure. Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin shall ye have.”—LEV. xix. 36.

THE necessary prominence given in any history of Friends to incessant and far extended labours of their first missionary preachers, should never cause forgetfulness of the characteristic quietness and industry in outward callings, of those gathered by them to depend for spiritual comfort in waiting upon the One true Comforter of souls.

The fiercest persecution and most brutal treatment produced, as we have seen, no resistance—and when impounded like cattle in the County Gaols—those who were handicraftsmen worked diligently at their trades, and others like Samuel Bownas—though so eminent as a preacher—learnt as he did, to make shoes for their support during a long imprisonment.

So soon therefore as wiser counsels in Government put an end to this harass of tender consciences, there flowed into Trade and Commerce a stream of active, intelligent and conscientious workers, anxious, above all thoughts of gain, that strict integrity should be observed in business dealings with their fellow men.

It was chiefly in the conduct of business affairs

such could be shown, as all avenues to Civic or Government office remained closed in times such as these, when by the Test and Corporation Acts, no Non-conformist could be associated with any Corporation, and all Government employments, even to those of a country postmaster, were confined to such as would take the Sacramental Bread and Wine according to the Church of England.

Only by slow stages after the passing of the Reform Bill have these social barriers been removed, and only in recent years have University gates been forced, so as to make educational honours at Cambridge and Oxford open to all. Whilst such religious boycotting lasted, it had the inevitable tendency to direct into the busy walks of Trade and Manufacture, a superior class of mind that might not otherwise have turned to them.

Another circumstance which contributed at this period to swell the industrial life of our Towns, was the large number of young and vigorous yeomanry, who found that Friends' conscientious objection to tithes made land-owners, under clerical influence, less willing to grant fresh tenure of farms, although their parents might be still holding under them, as were their ancestors for many previous generations.

To this stream of active industrial life the Friend brought enterprise and intelligence, and also a strict integrity, shown by his avoiding the practice then common of bargaining with every fresh customer, and having, instead, a fixed price for his wares. Also in a

care that all goods sold in bulk were fully up to quality of samples, thus making trade an honourable and not a cozening pursuit. He conducted it also with an enterprise, conspicuous among many other ways, by his travelling for custom in a manner which is said to have anticipated, if it did not originate, the fraternity of commercial travellers.

Whilst diligent in business, a fervency of spirit marked his conduct that best things might be kept uppermost. His shop would be closed during busy hours, to attend his mid-week meeting, and his time would be freely given to his Monthly and Quarterly Assembly, to serve on Committees and occasionally to go up to London for the Yearly gathering.

Such conduct, though in a worldly view little likely to ensure success, led nevertheless to that confidence of customers and neighbours, which made Friends' establishments generally rank among the most prosperous in the cities and towns; even to becoming transformed from traders and shopkeepers into the Bankers of the place. This is the origin of many a leading and wealthy financial firm of the present day. Neighbours, in times when banking facilities were little known in provincial towns, would entrust these conscientious ones with their savings, or look to them for some temporary loan, until such transactions in their volume became the chief business of those, who had thus carried their religion over and yet into all their commercial operations.

Whilst some were thus transformed in character,

others became enlarged in reputation ; such for example raised the chemical firms of Allen and Hanbury, or Corbys, or of J. Bell & Son, as safe to be trusted at a time when much careless dispensing of drugs prevailed. Thus also the chemical factories of the Howards, the originals of which concerns were Friends of a high order of mind, eminent in their day not only as tradesmen, but as Ministers or Elders in the Society they loved so dearly and served so well.

The Queen still has her damasks and table-linen from a firm commenced by a Friend so particular in having his goods up to quality that if in any fine cambrics he had sold, the slightest flaw had been found, he would change it with a "thank thee" for having had his attention drawn to it. Industries of all kinds prospered in their hands ; the calicoes of a Hoyle commanded the market, and the hats of a Christy. Their cotton and weaving factories increased in number, volume, and success, under generations of Ashworths, Brights, Crewdsons, Priestmans, and a host of others in Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, Birmingham, or other provincial towns.

Friends have made themselves especially conspicuous in the tea and cocoa trades, and matches, biscuits, starch, phosphorous powder blue, and various other articles of food or daily use have become, under their financial skill, the basis of gigantic commercial undertakings.

The modern system of lacquering brasswork was long in the hands of a trio of brother Friends ; Sterrys

and Sturges were largely in the oil trade, and with some families of these was the manufacture of the only wax candles that would burn without snuffing.

Some of the largest silversmiths, such as the Goldsmith's Alliance, have had a similar origin. For clocks Friend "Quare" had in the days William the Third a high reputation, and modern times have recognised the ingenuity of an Ogden or a Simmons in the same horological department.

On the Stock Exchange, in the Corn Market, in Lloyds Marine, many have become prominent, of which the Harris family in Mark Lane, Foster and Braithwaite at Capel Court, or Jansons at Lloyds, may be taken as typical instances. They have been some of the earliest promoters of provincial and urban gas and water companies, and have made efficient members of Boards of Health, and in conduct of local sanitary affairs or improvements. In Insurance they have a life office of their own, which, under the name of the Friends' Provident Institution, enjoys an exceptional reputation for successful management.

Very early was a spirit of enterprise observable amongst them as builders of ships, and openers up of trade especially from northern ports. It was a Friend shipowner of Whitby, who first fostered the genius of Captain Cook, who never after would sail on his adventurous voyages in any vessel that had not come from his Friend "Walker's" Whitby shipyard, and a Friend Lucas was one of the first to follow up this opening of a new Ocean by despatching whalers

thither with the results of whose captures in oil he contracted to lighten London's darkness.

None knew how to provide the farmers with an enduring ploughshare until a blacksmith Friend so made them of "chilled" iron as to lay the first stone of the engineering works of the Ipswich Ransomes, and until Friend Abraham had wrested the secret of casting in iron from the Dutch, England had no such foundries as he opened in Coalbrookdale. Nor were our porcelain manufacturers able to compete with foreign rivals until Friend Cookworthy discovered for them the china clay of Cornwall.

Then in a time when housewives depended on their own home-brewed ale, or their stock of ginger or gooseberry wines, the Friends started establishments with machinery and appliances on scientific principles, learnt, it has been said, from the Dutch, which soon made them known in all cities and towns as maltsters, brewers, and importers, and also as dealers in the produce of foreign vineyards, a trade and manufacture pursued with much evidence of what Dr. Johnson called "the potentiality of growing rich," until the prevalence of total abstinence principles led to their relinquishment. Remembrance now only points to such firms as the Walkers, the Allens of Ratcliff, the Hanburys & Buxtons of Spitalfields, or the Barclays and Perkins of Southwark, and in like manner conspicuous amongst those thus engaged over England, where also Friends would be found among the more prosperous of local Woolstaplers, Millers, Fellmongers, or workers of Tanneries.

Commercial Finance is indebted to Friends for originating the modern system of Bill Discounting through an Overend and a Richardson, two North Country lads, who commenced the plan now universally adopted, which, when associated with the Norwich Gurneys, developed under their management into the financial operations of an Overend, Gurney & Co.

It was a Friend, the Prime Minister of the day selected for an attempt at extricating Indian Finances from their confusion, which task, although it proved too much for the constitution, would probably not have been found beyond the ability of a James Wilson, who lost his life in the toil it cost him.

The Railway System may almost be said to owe its *existence* to their enterprise, for Friend Edward Pease was the first to discover, and the most persistent in fostering the railway genius of a George Stevenson ; and, although this is no history of the Rail, it may be permitted to narrate in what way he became acquainted with, and to have such faith in, the future Constructor of Railways. His business was that of a Woolstapler at Darlington, where he had also become a Coal Owner, and, with those thus associated with him, he had conceived an idea of having a tramway from the Darlington Pits to the Port of Stockton, some 40 miles distant, and thus save the great charges made for carriage by canal or road. For this purpose they formed a Company, which, although it engaged some of the leading Engineers, had failed in all endeavours for an Act of Parliament. Matters being in this state, he was one

morning disturbed from his writing by an announcement that a stranger in his passage wished to see him. This proved to be a tall man of burly appearance in a furry cap with a rough shawl wound around his neck, whose abrupt announcement of his business as having "heard you wants a rail made and I be come to do it," put the dignified courtesy of Edward Pease to no little strain. With a suppressed smile, he suggested that, although on the subject of his call he could say nothing to him, he was welcome to some refreshment in the kitchen after so long a walk, and thus, would Edward Pease add, I returned to my pen ; but my thoughts failed me ; the thread of the important subject could not be recovered. I felt I must see the stranger again, and into my kitchen I went to find George—for it was none other than he—making a most hearty meal off my bread and cheese, and whilst slice after slice vanished, my talk with him as I sat on the kitchen dresser, convinced me of his being the man we wanted, and my brother directors with whom an appointment was then made were, after their first feelings of surprise, equally assured of the same. Many and racy were the anecdotes Edward Pease would tell of their after experience of George Stephenson's sagacity and honesty, only one of which can be here inserted, as it relates to the birth of the Locomotive. No idea of this was entertained until he had asked them to come and see a *fire-horse* he had made, which would, he declared, answer better than the living animals they had intended to depend

upon for hauling their coal on the rail. So with a brother director, Edward Pease found himself one morning mounted behind this fiery charger, whilst its Inventor ran alongside poking with a long rod at the furnace bars to keep up steam, and there he acquired such confidence in its future as to provide capital for what became the great engine works of Stephenson and Co., though he would naively add, that at that time it couldn't go as far as George ran "with all his poking." Edward Pease was become fully fifty years old before he thus embarked on that railway enterprise which, during the more than forty years of his after life, he saw develop to so wonderful an extent. In humbly reviewing his own share in this, he would acknowledge to the feeling that he was working not so much for himself as for his fellow-men, and in solemn tones would add, "in all my opportunities for railway speculation I never sold a share—and in all my great anxieties of Parliamentary contests I never missed attending a mid-week meeting."

Well might Friends come to have a leading share in fostering Railway undertakings. Well might the first line opened from Stockton to Darlington be called theirs. They were the backbone also of the Liverpool and Manchester line ; it was Friend Ellis of Leicester who started the now great Midland, and it was he who, as its Chairman, gained for it the Bristol and Gloucester by offering it a fixed rate of interest on his own responsibility when the possession of this line had to be contested with the Great Western in the "battle of the gauges."

This master stroke of financial policy eventually settled that predominance of the Narrow over the Broad Gauge, which has now worked out the latter's recent extinction. Several Friends, such as his son, Edward Shipley Ellis, and William Hutchinson, have most ably filled the chair of this extensive undertaking, and much does the vast North Eastern system owe to past and present Managers of the same religious fraternity. In the matter of rails, Friend Ransome devised the best form of chair for holding them, and Charles May the compressed oak trenails that pin them to the ties.

When the lines began working under a cumbrous system of passenger-booking, continued from coaching days, it was Friend Edmundson who devised the present effective system of railway tickets, and likewise invented the machine in general use for stamping them, and it is Friend Bradshaw who still enlightens the Public as to train movements by his Time Tables.

The Legislative Councils of the Nation have, ever since the passing of the Reform Bill and the acceptance of Affirmation instead of Oath, had members of the Society more or less numerous or prominent amongst them, of whom the father of the present Sir Joseph Pease was the first to take a seat, and John Bright to become eminent as an orator and statesman.

This influence on daily life, far from being confined to its material or industrial advantage, has been felt also in Science, Literature and Art.

To John Dalton, whose livelihood was gained chiefly as a teacher, Science is indebted for the know-

ledge of the law of atomic proportions, and in Dr. Thomas Young, who came to London when a lad, from a west country home, in the plainest of Friendly attire, there developed a philosopher, renowned not only for his decipherment of hieroglyphics, but for a theory on the subject of Light, that made Helmholtz declare, "The greatest discovery I ever made was that of the genius and writings of Thomas Young. I consider him the greatest man of science that has appeared in the history of this planet."

The application of an achromatic principle to the lenses of the Microscope, which transformed it from a mere philosophic toy to an instrument of indispensable use to the medical faculty, is due to the sagacity of Joseph Jackson Lister, whose leisure hours from trade were largely devoted to scientific pursuits.

In medical and surgical practice, such names as those of Doctors Fothergill, Lettson, Pope, Hodgkin, Peacock, or Wilson Fox as physicians, and Lister, Hutchinson, Beck, or Godlee as surgeons are among the foremost.

Little as Friends themselves have occasion for courts of litigation, there are those among them who, like Phillips, Harrison, Hodgkin, Godlee, Braithwaite, have been or are still known as "learned in the law," chiefly as chamber counsel, whilst in a member of the ancient Friend family of Frys, the Society has contributed one of its ablest judges to the High Court of Appeal.

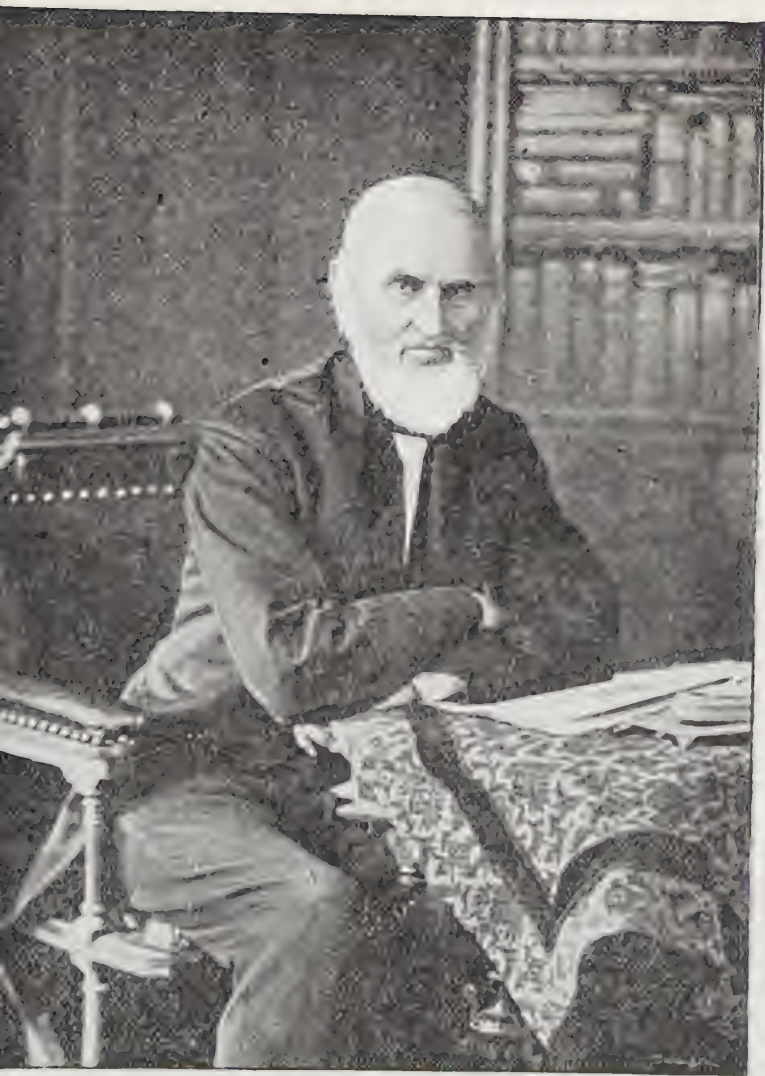
In Art it has given to the Royal Academy a president in West, and to the Architects one in Water-

house, whilst others have like Briggs been among its Academicians.

To the Engineers it has contributed more of workers than originators, yet it was through the hydraulic inventions of the brothers Tangye that Cleopatra's Needle was upraised, and through the skill of a Dixon that it was poised on its pedestal by the banks of the Thames.

In literature the pens of William and Mary Howitt were seldom other than successfully employed throughout their long lives. Mrs. Ellis was a well known authoress, and a Seeborn by his "Oxford Reformers," and Dr. T. Hodgkin by his "Italy and Her Invaders," have taken good rank among our present historians. It needs two huge octavo volumes for a Joseph Smith to chronicle the works and their various editions which Friends have produced, treating on many subjects besides those of biography or doctrinals.

In poetry there has been a Wiffen with his translation of Tasso, a Hurnard of Lexden, a John Scott of Amwell, an Amelia Opie with her Lyrics, a William Ball with his epigrammatic verse, and the ever "busy bee," as Charles Lamb quizzically called his friend Bernard Barton, whose melodious muse, though copious, falls below that high rank Whittier's is universally allowed to have reached. Mention should be made, too, of "Sketches of Rural Life" by the brothers Lucas, and published volumes of poetry or prose, by Hunton, Knight, Compton, Budge, Ball, Ashby, Sterry, and many others, more or less connected with Friends, whose



JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

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works await the addition of posterity's opinion to their present acceptance.

Here it may be suitable to remark how many of those who have attained or are now in positions of eminence, have come by birth out of Friends' families in more or less direct descent. Such was the case with Macaulay, whose mother was a Friend; and Walter Scott had a similar though remoter relation to the Society; the same may be said of Lord Lyndhurst; General Howard, of the American War; and President Lincoln. Of this stock came Dr. Tregelles, the Biblical Scholar; Dr. Birch, tutor to the Prince of Wales; Dr. Pritchard, author of "The Unity of the Human Race"; Thos. Rickman, the Architect and first "Discriminator" of the Gothic Styles; Dr. Birkbeck, Inventor of Mechanics' Institutes; Bolton, who brought the Steam Engine of Watt into general use; Galton, the Philosopher; Sir T. Fowell Buxton, the indomitable champion of the Slave; Sir Joseph Lister, discoverer of Antiseptic Surgery; Sir Henry Rawlinson, decipherer of Cuneiform Inscriptions; Wm. A. Miller, Chemical Professor; Sir Samuel Cunard, founder of Atlantic Steam Navigation; Neal Dow, Inventor of the Maine Liquor Law; Birket Foster, unrivalled as an illustrator; Wm. Edward Forster, of Education Acts' fame; Sir John Barnard and Sir Robt. N. Fowler, alike at different periods each member of Parliament for the City of London and twice Lord Mayor. All these are but some of the names that might be given of those eminent in various ways who were indebted for their origin or training to a membership

in the Society of Friends, which has also retained within its fold the Bakers and Olivers, of Kew Gardens; William Miller, the successful engraver of Turner's atmospheric effects; Rendel Harris the learned discoverer of ancient MSS.; Francis Fry, the laborious investigator of the Cranmer Bibles; Robert Were Fox, the Falmouth scientist; with other accomplished members of the same family circle.

Should it be asked whence came they, these philanthropic tradesmen, these earnest seekers after truth—the answer is to be found in the quiet and intellectual homes where this goodness and this force were nurtured; homes founded by those who have been drawn to one another by cords of purest affection arising from unrestrained intercourse in social circles into which no meretricious excitements are allowed to enter; homes where the marriage pledge is sacred though no priest has sealed it; where children are regarded as born with capability for salvation though never brought to the baptismal fount; where parents are revered as priests in their own families, careful for all right culture and discouraging no amusements or occupations but such as verge on vanity or excess; where wise restrictions are placed on the reading of romances and dramatic literature, but a welcome given to the healthful children's stories of an Edgeworth, a Jane Taylor, Hack or Howitt.

Nowhere could the modern tastes for scientific pursuits in Botany and Natural history have been more fostered than amongst the young of these Friendly

homes, where the filling of cabinets with shells, eggs, minerals, or fossils, the working of electrotypes, and use of photographic apparatus, encouraged mental improvement of all kinds, amongst which a love for and cultivation of the varied kinds of ferns a Newman had shown to be so abundant, must not be forgotten.

Homes such as these, of true comfort and abundant hospitality, with much coming and going of relatives and guests, gave great opportunity for a free social intercourse and intermingling at a social board with those in different ranks and walk of life.

A religious atmosphere, rather than any rigidly religious observances, marked the family training; great reverence was shown toward the regularly read scriptures, of which portions, as well as hymns, would be committed to memory. Truth in all things was held sacred. Extravagance in language, manners, or dress was kept under, and although there might be little spoken on doctrinal subjects to the young, they saw an effective preaching of the Gospel in the loving consistency of their parents' behaviour towards them.

Never also, for all this absence of theological training, has the Society lacked a succession in the Gospel ministry, and as some allusion has been made to the early age at which individuals have been called to this service, an instance of an opposite character may here be quoted from a recent interesting work "on the Richardsons of Cleveland," of one whose training was in that best of all schools—the trials and vicissitudes of active life,—“A North Country Banker.

clever and well read and prosperous, was suddenly brought low by affliction in loss of property and a most loving wife. His knowledge of the Bible was remarkable, and his acquaintance with theological literature ranged through different schools of thought from Keble to Newton and Venn. In similar catholicity had a familiarity been acquired with English Classics; a Shakespeare, a Milton and a New Testament being generally associated as his pocket companions. With all this varied culture, all this experience of the joys and griefs of life, with keen, sympathetic and quick perceptions, he was becoming fitted, during sorrowful and somewhat lonely years, to minister to his fellows. When after his second happy marriage and with young children growing up around him, he first opened his mouth as a minister, it seemed as though he spoke from the fullness of his heart and mind the thoughts which had been maturing for years, and his forcible mode of expression, enhanced by the deep tones of his voice, riveted attention even of the careless, while the marked absence of conventional phrases added to the impression of originality in his much valued discourses."

"All Friends," it has been said, "are known to one another," and there is much truth in thus associating with the Society a bond of fellowship that wants neither the Signs nor the Oaths of Freemasonry for its recognition or maintenance. The frequent assembling together for Society and Social ends furthers this, and it is ever remembered when removals occur from one district to

another, for the leaving Friend to be supplied with letters of recommendation to those of his fresh locality. Social gatherings in households are frequently seasons of religious intercourse (more often occurrent formerly than is now possible in these rushing railway times) which has been thus sweetly alluded to by Whittier:—

There sometimes Silence, it were hard to tell
Who owned it first, upon the circle fell,
Nor eye was raised, nor hand was stirred,
In that soul sabbath, till at last some word
Of tender counsel, or low prayer was heard,
Then guests who lingered but farewell to say,
And take Love's message, went their Homeward way.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MISSIONS.

“Be faithful and spread the truth abroad . . . as ye are moved into Countries and Nations, that the sound of the trumpet of the Lord of Hosts may be heard in the Nations and Islands.”—G. Fox.

IN missionary effort, the Society has not, until late years, taken much share through any definite Organization for that object, but it has never ceased to foster the concerns of those whom it felt were called of the Lord to labour as gospel messengers among Christian brethren or heathen in distant lands, of which its early history has given us good evidence, continued also throughout the present century.

In 1831 James Backhouse and G. W. Walker were engaged under its auspices for some fifteen years in gospel service amongst the convict settlements, then little visited, at the Cape and in Australia. A Thomas Shillitoe had his Friends' cordial assistance throughout extensive journeyings to Courts, and Cities, Prisons, and Institutions on the Continent of Europe, where a Stephen Grellett was likewise sustained in an earnest gospel mission that took him to the Cabinets of Statesmen, and audiences with Emperor and Kings, even to imparting counsel on Spiritual truths in the

Vatican to the Pope himself. For Daniel Wheeler, in 1834, a special vessel was granted, that carried him in this "Henry Freeling" throughout long voyages to the Islands of the South Seas on his evangelistic mission. Robert Lindsay and Frederick Mackie spent years of extensive travel in the Cape, in India and Australia. Russell Jeffrey, Henry Hipsley, and William Brewin travelled on a similar service in 1862 in India, especially to those parts of that large and closely peopled country where missionary efforts were in operation. Visits also in Gospel love have never been wanting, either to Indians in their native forests, or like John and Martha Yeardley, to dwellers among the Isles of Greece. Others have thus gone to the Valleys of Piedmont, the Steppes of Russia; or like Isaac Sharp to Finns and Esquimaux, amid the icy cold of Labrador, or settlers on the warm Veldts of Africa, to co-religionists throughout Australasia, and to missionary brethren in Madagascar, Mexico, and India. No period of the Society's history is without this warm encouragement and support of varied individual effort by those whom it believed divinely called to such service.

It remained, however, for George Richardson, when very aged and lying on his death-bed in 1859, to be the means by a letter he wrote to his brethren when assembled in their Yearly Meeting of awakening in the Society a consciousness, that as a *Community*, it ought to have its own share in missionary effort in Heathen Lands.

His appeal led eventually to the formation of a Friends' Foreign Mission Association, under whose auspices Joseph S. Sewell and also Louis and Sarah Street, from America, became its first Missionaries to Madagascar, where now it has a staff of some twenty workers, with Meetings, Schools, printing Establishment and Medical mission in the Capital of the Island, and a large area of country, exclusively under its care, influencing, more or less directly, some 40,000 natives.

INDIA.

Work in India was commenced by Rachel Metcalf in 1867, who gave her life to the service, and was soon joined by two American Friends, assisted from time to time by various others from England, until now at Hoshungabad, Sohagpur, and Sioni—which are places some 40 miles apart—premises have been obtained or built, such as bungalows, orphanage, mission and meeting rooms, all in active use by some twenty workers, who have gone out from England under a sense of being called to this service of love. China is also added to its mission field, where seven men and women Friends are engaged in medical and general mission work with much encouragement, and similar cheer is attending labours of English and American Friends in Japan.

TURKEY.

In the year 1860, John Yeardley, who, with his wife, had in years past travelled much on gospel service among the Isles of Greece, felt that some

further service was called for from him in the East—which, to one of his advanced years, was a great undertaking. He was only able to reach Constantinople yet here his service was the means of influencing some Armenians; especially G. Dobrasian (then a young medical student), so as to prove the foundation for a little group that now gather in profession with the Society, and hold meetings for worship regularly, with an attendance up to a hundred or more, comprising members of various races, Armenians, Greeks, Turks, Persians, Jews.

SYRIA.

Friends' share in Syrian Missions commenced with visits paid in the love of the gospel by Eli and Sybil Jones, who held meetings after the manner of Friends, in various places during their travels in Palestine, and amongst those influenced by them was Theophilus Waldmeier, a Swiss, who was engaged at that time in Missionary School-work on Mount Lebanon under Mrs. Mott. He also made the acquaintance of Stafford Allen when travelling there, and found his own views so much in accord with those of Friends that he came to England and joined himself in membership with them. Through the interest Hannah Stafford Allen awakened in the cause, they were willing to support him in opening a Mission of their own on Mount Lebanon, and these efforts under Theophilus Waldmeier (who is remembered as once Missionary to King Theodore) have grown from small beginnings into a large work on the

valuable property of Ain Salaam, in Brumana, with its training homes and schools, dispensary, and substantial meeting house, well filled at times of worship ; and its congregation have formed themselves into a Monthly Meeting. Some twenty Friends have gone out to conduct this varied and important work ; a few of them at their own charges, but the chief supplies come from voluntary subscriptions of some £1,800 a year. The American Friends have a mission centre of their own, with substantial buildings also, some nine miles from Jerusalem, at Ramallah, where Hulda Leighton and others sustain a most useful Christian work.

HOME MISSIONS.

After this cursory glance at Friends' share in the Foreign Mission Field, it has to be observed that simultaneous with the awakened activity in such distant service is observable the growth of Home Missions amongst them, which, after existing in more or less direct connection with educational efforts in First-day and Adult Schools have of late years come under the care of a Committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting.

These originated through Sabbath School work having awakened an interest on behalf of the Parents of the children thus under Friends' care, and the response found at Leeds and some other towns in efforts made for their religious benefit induced those in London to engraft Home Mission Work on the First-day Schools they had long maintained in Spitalfields, for which some new

premises were built and had already been opened when a visitation of cholera drew the sympathetic attention of all England to this afflicted district, and the help that poured in from all quarters led to these buildings being called after good old Peter, the "Bedford Institute," inaugurating its subsequent career of manifold usefulness.

About this time, 1865 to '70, some Friends had felt it their duty to hold Meetings in the crowded districts of the East End. A large tent obtained many years before for Samuel Capper—when under religious concern, to hold meetings in country places of our Western Counties—was discovered stored away under a London Meeting-House. This was now set up in a disused Burial Ground in Whitechapel, with such evident blessing that during another summer it was asked for by an earnest promoter of such services (not himself a Friend), and he set William Booth (then just come to London seeking a sphere of labour) to conduct gospel services in it which proved so successful that this old tent became as a cradle, out of which his future East End work developed into the enormous proportions of the Salvation Army.

On William Booth obtaining permanent quarters, Friends shifted the tent to another of their closed Burial Grounds, near Bunhill Fields, where it also attracted, during several summers in succession, various zealous workers, both in and out of the Society, so that when finally wrecked during a heavy storm Friends replaced it by an iron room. In this grew up an Adult

School with other work of so much promise as to lead to the erection at great cost of the fine permanent Memorial Buildings in which all kinds of Mission Work now find excellent accommodation on a site close to where George Fox and other valiants in the Lamb's army were laid to rest.

Scarce a town is there now of any importance throughout England in which the Friends do not own, or have under control, buildings for zealous workers, drawn largely from the younger ranks of their members, who are doing all they can to make England the better by raising a sober, enlightened, and scripturally instructed population.

These are worked by independent and local committees, but on the subject claiming the attention of the Yearly Meeting, it appointed, in 1882, a large Committee of men and women Friends to act as might seem best on its behalf in fostering these efforts, and as a result, through funds raised by voluntary subscription, there are some 40 workers who itinerate or settle for a time in districts wherever a need for originating, reviving, or sustaining School and Mission work exists.

Thus this Home Mission Work, though a Society organisation, has resulted from Schools, long previously conducted among the wage-earning classes, which themselves became federated under an Association, of which Joseph Storrs Fry, (who has ably served the Yearly Meeting on fourteen occasions as its clerk,) has been its much esteemed honorary secretary from the commencement.

In the junior department of this school work Friends have been followers rather than pioneers, but with this difference that their Schools are for children gathered promiscuously and not as with others, for those whose parents belong to the congregations.

Their largely successful efforts in teaching an older class, having had no previous example, their origin claims our notice.

ADULT SCHOOLS.

These were commenced at Birmingham in 1845, when Joseph Sturge invited a few young men Friends to his house to discuss whether something could not be done for the instruction and help of those who had reached an age and position beyond the range of an ordinary Sabbath School. It led to a School being commenced for men and grown up lads at the early hour of 7.30 on a First-day morning, and the teachers agreed to meet to breakfast half-an-hour earlier, to which repast so long as he lived this good man would come to carve himself the cold ham he supplied. The School grew rapidly in numbers and influence, so much so that a similar work among young women succeeded. Bristol, that long had had one for children, followed the example of this one for Adults. So was it with other places year after year, until through these important accessions the number of attenders has in 1891 reached an aggregate of more than 23,000, with some 800 teachers, at work in 90 different centres, and all this is exclusive of the *Junior* First-day Schools with their 12,000 teachers and 15,000 children.

These varied and extensive efforts are as yet conducted on an undenominational basis, so that when fellowships have resulted such are but local in character and without official connection with the Society. In recent times, however, Home Mission efforts in religious meetings have brought a steady accession of members, chiefly from a wage-earning class, which has turned the current from a previous yearly declining—or at most stationary position—into one of much hopefulness for the future, by the gain to the Society of those who have not found themselves within its ranks by accident of birth, but have entered them through personal conviction and attachment to its principles.

This has a likeness to what we have seen of Society aggressiveness in its early days, when as now youthful zeal led the van, encouraged and fostered by elder counsels.

Friends have found that they themselves have a work to do amongst the ignorant and poorer classes besides subscribing funds, as has been so long their wont, to assist others in these labours of love.

What they are thus doing for London in seven distinct centres involves them in an annual expenditure of more than £3,000, and includes Medical Missions, Labour Agencies, a Refuge, and a Forster Home of somewhat of the Deaconess character.

The Home Mission Committee of the Yearly Meeting raises and expends some £4,000 a year in fostering local efforts over the country.

The Foreign Mission Association has an annual expenditure of £11,000 and sustains some 50 missionaries at their work, all of which annual outgoings are independent of large amounts that from time to time have been raised to build schools, orphanages, training homes, hospital, medical mission, meeting premises, residences for missionaries, &c.

Thus in their way, though small in comparison with the missionary operations of other Christian Bodies yet large in proportion to their own, are the "Friends" of this day found helping on the advent of that time when it shall be said, "the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FRIENDS AS AT PRESENT IN EUROPE AND AUSTRALASIA.

THE advantages offered in Pennsylvania of political and religious freedom proved so attractive to Friends on the continent of Europe, harassed as they were by army requirements and clerical claims, that a migration ensued which eventually left none remaining of those who had adopted their principles at the rise of the Society. Yet there are still little communities of Friends in Germany, France, and Norway, the origin of which should not be omitted in our survey. Those in Germany resulted from a religious visit in 1790 of George Dillwyn and wife, Sarah Grubb* and her husband, with some others who in the course of their travels in Holland and Germany found in Westphalia some spiritually earnest persons who had very much withdrawn from the state worship, and were prepared to gather in silence and wait to feel the Lord of all spirits in His direct action on their souls. These were further encouraged by a visit of some duration from John Pemberton, an aged American Friend, who ended his life amongst them, and also at a later period by

* She was the daughter of William Tuke, and inherited much of her father's force of character. She was said "to have combined the manners of a duchess with the piety of a saint."

Stephen Grellet whose visit to them was accomplished through manifold difficulties and dangers from continental wars then raging. These with various other aids and visits from English and American Friends contributed to a settlement of the Society both at Prymont and Minden, at each of which places it has a meeting-house. Their original members as in England were drawn from various classes, mechanics as well as tradesmen, and some of local rank, such as the Von Seebohm family, one of whom, Benjamin Seebohm, settled in England, and became widely known for specially valued gospel services in England and America in furtherance of Friends' views of gospel truth. He was early brought into this usefulness through Stephen Grellet having enlisted him as his interpreter at the meetings he held. Some of these were large, and on the first occasion the call to such a service was so unexpected that fear prevailed, till Stephen, putting his hand on the lad's shoulder, gave him such courage, that, young as he was, he succeeded to admiration in transmitting to the assembly the counsel that flowed from the earnest evangelist.

Many of the German Friends have not shrunk from much trial and suffering in maintaining a testimony against war—but their families have largely availed themselves of the opportunity given by emigration to avoid military service, consequently the numbers remaining are few. Most of these are living in Minden, where Louis Rasche is chief representative of the family of that name which in former time welcomed

Sarah Grubb and George Dillwyn on their travels thither.

NORWAY AND DENMARK.

There is a Society of Friends in Norway which had its origin under the following circumstances:— In the year 1814 the Friends living at Rochester received a letter from one of the Norwegian prisoners in a ship of war then lying off Chatham that induced them to pay a visit to the vessel. They found that amongst a number of these captives taken during the war between Denmark and England, were several young men who were in the habit of sitting down together to wait upon the Lord, and to feel his power arise in their hearts which was to them a great preservation from the low life led by others, and more profitable than uniting in any formal religious service. The leader amongst them was a young Norwegian, the son of a carpenter, who had enlisted on board a Danish Privateer, that had been captured at sea by one of the English cruisers. In his affliction great heart sorrow and repentance ensued, and, though very ignorant as to Scripture truth, he felt the Lord to be near to his spirit, and was surprised on meeting with a copy, in Danish, of Barclay's Apology to find there was a people who owned to a similar experience. It led him to write that letter which he had composed by the aid of a dictionary to the Friends at Rochester. Some of these came to the ships, and until the Peace liberated them they held meetings on board that increased until 30 of the prisoners used to be present three times a week. These, on liberation,

dispersed to their various localities, and not many years after Wm. Allen and Stephen Grellet paid them a visit. Thomas Shillitoe spent a long time in going amongst them and encouraging the settlement of meetings, which service after some 24 years was further promoted by three Friends, E. O. Tregelles, John Budge, and Isaac Sharp, who went there several times.

Their number at present is about 140, and though small groups are located in various parts, the greater number live at Stavanger, where they have a school attended by about 20 children. One or two, such as the late Endre Dahl, have been successful in trade, but for the most part they are hardy sons of toil, fervent in spirit and greatly cheered by the visits which are sure to be annually paid them by one or more English and American Friends. Here as elsewhere on the continent, the exactions and restrictions of a State Church and Military Service makes the freedom obtainable in the Western World a superior attraction to the circumstances of home life, and as facilities increase year by year, the young leave more freely whilst the decease of the elders tends further to diminish this branch of the Society. There are Friends also in Denmark at various places, but not promising much for development or even of a permanence, as their numbers are too few in any one place for much of successful organization. It is interesting to note that the Danish edition of Barclay before referred to was the work of a Lutheran minister from that country as far back as 1738, who resigned his post of missionary to Danish

sailors on becoming a Friend, for whose principles he also suffered imprisonment.

Several of the Norwegian Friends lived long lives of faithful dedication, such as Elias Tosted and Endre Dahl, and one of the earliest of their number thus expressed himself when a prisoner on our men-of-war. "I am convinced by His Spirit that there is a great secret in the word, which no human creature with his own natural powers merely can discover, yet it is opened to those whom the Almighty knows will be faithful and preserve it in honour, and as it is what cannot be bought with money as other things can, my wish is to preserve His work in a clean heart." And in another letter was shown the Power he trusted in for this. "Surely Satan may bite the heel, but as soon as the Spirit of God draws near to me I can fully resist him."

FRANCE.

Between England and France, through long centuries of international jealousies and wars, little community of interest on religious subjects existed—our country becoming more a refuge for the oppressed in politics and religion than able to exert any influence in promulgation of Scripture Truth.

Nevertheless, the Society is not without its representatives on the soil of France, for in the Southern districts an interesting little community of Friends has existed there for about a hundred years.

It arose through earnest-minded Frenchmen, shocked at the results of the wars waged amongst them

in the name of religion, having had their attention arrested in 1785, by some English Friends, Joseph Fox and Co., of Falmouth, who had advertised for any that might have sustained losses from a vessel of theirs, having, unauthorised, acted as a privateer. Such conduct towards reputed enemies seemed to these Frenchmen so truly Christian as to make them desirous of learning more of the principles that could prompt and sustain such noble conduct. It led to a correspondence, and was followed by a visit to England of one of their number, De Marsillac, of noble birth, who informed Friends that for 60 or 70 years there had existed in these southern parts of France a Protestant community, who held similar views to theirs on worship, ministry, and the unlawfulness of war. When peace made the country accessible, a deputation of Friends visited this little community in 1817, and ever since from time to time English and American ministers have had good service in these parts, and a valuable company of earnest-minded French Friends resulted with their head quarters at Cogenies and Nismes, and at the former are nice Meeting House premises. Amongst these, natural losses by nature's decay have not been replaced by family successions, chiefly through emigration of their young men to avoid the pressure of conscription, and consequently the numbers at present residing there are but as a remnant.

The chief family has been that of the Majolier, and of one of these it is related, that a wolf unexpectedly

appeared close to him in his vineyard; he felt himself in great danger, but had an assurance that as he kept his eye fixed on the intruder he would be in safety, and thus walking slowly backward, with eyes fixed on the voracious beast, he reached shelter unhurt. This used to be told by his grand-daughter, who was brought over, when but a girl, to England by some Friends, in whose family she lived for many years, and then returned to her home at Nismes. On her marriage some time after to Robert Alsop, they became some of the most widely-known Friends for religious service at home and abroad; welcome in all social circles, and loved the more the better they were known. Christine Alsop was in herself a remarkable example of English solidity blended with French vivacity—in a harmony of attractiveness and strength.

Although Stephen Grellet was not of this group his career presents a yet more remarkable instance of a character in which the courtesy of a French nobleman influenced by contact with English speaking races both in America and England became manifest in the ranks of spiritual warfare. He never lost the manners of the polished gentleman in the consistent Friend, but held them in such combination as to win many cultivated minds to the cause of philanthropy and religion. It was his having searched into the condition of Newgate as already mentioned, that stirred the saintly zeal of Elizabeth Fry to those visits which led to its reformation, and by his love for “dear Stephen” was William Allen led into many a companionship of distant service

for their Master in Russia and various other parts of Europe and Asia.

AUSTRALASIA.

Friends are represented in Australasia by settlements of their members in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, and Auckland, in New Zealand, amounting in the aggregate to about a thousand members.

Those in Tasmania and New South Wales arose through the visits of James Backhouse and G. W. Walker, in 1834, whose self-denying labours, during several years, attracted little groups in each place to adopt Friends' mode of worship, which has been maintained by their descendants and others who have joined them. In Tasmania the families of the Mathers and the Cottons have formed the nucleus; and a high school for Friends and others, opened at Hobart of late years, is pursuing a prosperous career under the headmastership of Samuel Clemes and a managing committee of resident Friends. In Sydney an Adult School conducted at the Meeting House is proving a source of much usefulness.

The Friends in South Australia reside chiefly in Adelaide, or at Mount Barker, a township in its neighbourhood. Most of them came out on the formation of the colony, in or about 1836, many of them from the South Coast towns of England; Mays and Saunders, Phillips and Colemans, being chiefly represented.

Melbourne is the principal centre for the Society

in Victoria, where it has commodious premises in a good thoroughfare, erected in 1859, used by some two hundred Friends of various circumstances in life, with families growing up around them. It has, like Tasmania, its own Yearly Meeting.

The Meeting House at Brisbane, opened in 1866, is not largely attended, but there are amongst them some earnest workers, which may also be said of Rockhampton. The numbers in both places are few, the premises small, but an influence for good is being exerted on those around them.

In New Zealand there are on the whole a considerable number of residents (nearly 200) more or less connected with the Society, but only in Auckland are these situated in sufficient number to have a Meeting House. In other places, such as Dunedin, the few meet at one another's houses, and at Wellington, Thomas Mason, an old and successful settler in the Hut Valley, has long held a meeting at his own residence.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FRIENDS OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, NORTH AMERICA,
AND CANADA IN CONFERENCE ASSEMBLED.

WHEN Richard Baxter alluded to "Friends" as a *divided* people wanting in any element of permanence, he little expected that the Community he thus affected to despise would two centuries afterwards have become so spread and remained so united as to assemble in Conference through deputies from no less than twelve independent yet corresponding Yearly Meetings in a far distant and at that time unimagined City of the Western World.

English, Irish, Canadian, and American were thus represented by ninety-five Delegates of men and women Friends, and the husbands of wife delegates and wives of husbands were admitted to be present, though not allowed to take part in the Sittings of this Conference which assembled in the City of Richmond, Indiana, in September, 1887, and lasted throughout four successive days. Under regulations as to length of time for each speaker, were discussed such subjects as Union in Foreign Mission Work; the Mission of the Society of Friends, and what is its Message to the World; Meetings for Worship, and the method of conducting them; the relation of the Ministry to the Church, and of

the Church to the Ministry, and how best for the Ministry to be sustained. These and other similar matters engaged the attention of the Conference throughout eleven sittings, and the proceedings are reported in a published volume of more than 300 pages. Record is made of the feeling of thankfulness for the unity and brotherly condescension that had prevailed throughout in the face of a very free expression of opinion.

An important act of the Conference was the preparation of a "Declaration of some of the Fundamental Principles of Christian Truth as held by the religious Society of Friends," drawn (as expressed by J. B. Braithwaite, Chairman of the Committee appointed for the purpose) from documents that had passed the various Yearly Meetings.

Thus accredited, it may be taken, not only as the latest but most comprehensive statement of the kind, amounting almost to a Treatise, which must necessarily be presented here in a very abbreviated form.

It refers throughout its course to not less than 147 passages of scripture in support of its statements which are ranged under these sixteen heads:—Of God—the Lord Jesus Christ—the Holy Spirit—the Holy Scriptures—Man's Creation and Fall—Justification and Sanctification—the Resurrection and Final Judgment—Baptism—the Supper of the Lord—Public Worship—Prayer and Praise—Liberty of Conscience in its Relation to Civil Government—Marriage—Peace—Oaths—the First Day of the Week.

The first clause is as follows :—

We believe in one Holy, Almighty, Allwise, and everlasting God, the Father, the Creator, and Preserver of all things, and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord, by whom all things were made and by whom all things consist ; and in one Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, the Reprover of the World, the Witness for Christ, and the Teacher, Guide, and Sanctifier of the people of God, and that these three are one in the Eternal Godhead, to whom be honour, praise, and thanksgiving now and for ever, Amen.

The testimony to the *Lord Jesus Christ* is very full and will be found explicit as to His being true God and perfect man, in whom alone we have redemption and remission of sins by virtue of His most satisfactory sacrifice, who, having shown Himself alive after His passion hath ascended into Heaven. He is the one Mediator of the new and everlasting covenant, able to save to the uttermost them that come unto God by Him ; the head of the true church, all its members made one in Him. In their hearts He dwells by faith and gives them of His peace. His will is their law, and in Him they enjoy the true liberty, a freedom from the bondage of sin.

The *Holy Spirit* coming in the name and with the authority of the risen and ascended Saviour takes the things of Christ and shews them as a realized possession to the believing soul, and is the seal of reconciliation to the believer in Jesus, the witness to his adoption into the family of the redeemed.

No principle of spiritual light, life, or holiness is

owned as inherent by nature in the mind or heart, but a capacity to receive the influence of the *Holy Spirit* of God without whose quickening and illumination, neither conscience or reason discern aright of the deep things of God and Christ.

The *Holy Scriptures* are regarded as the only divinely authorised record of the doctrines which we are bound as Christians to accept, and of the moral principles which are to regulate our actions, and whatever anyone says or does contrary to the Scriptures, though under profession of the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, must be reckoned and accounted a mere delusion. The great Inspirer of Scripture is ever its true Interpreter, not by superseding our understandings but by enlightening them that the humble disciple may discern the unity, many sidedness, and harmony of its testimony to Christ.

Man created capable of holding communion with his Maker, free to obey or disobey the divine law, *fell into* transgression under the temptation of Satan, and all mankind as partakers of his nature are involved in the consequences. To every member of every successive generation the words "ye must be born again" are applicable, yet is not sin imputed where there has been no sufficient capacity to understand the divine law, and thus infants are saved through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.

Justification is of God's free grace, who, upon repentance and faith, pardons our sins. *Sanctification* is experienced, as the pardoned sinner through faith in

Christ is clothed with a measure of His righteousness, sufficient to deliver from the power as well as from the guilt of sin, yet is he still liable to temptation, and able only to follow holiness through constant dependence upon his Saviour.

Not only is a *resurrection* in Christ from a sinful state believed in here, but a rising and ascending into glory with Him hereafter, that when he at last appears we may appear with Him in glory at the final Judgment, when the wicked shall be separated from those that are justified.

One *Baptism* is believed in, even that whereby all believers are baptised in the one spirit into the one body ; not an outward but a spiritual experience, transforming the heart and settling the soul upon Christ.

The *Supper of the Lord* needs no ritual or priestly intervention. They truly partake who rest upon the sufferings and death of their Lord as their only hope, and to whom the indwelling Spirit gives to drink of the fulness that is in Christ. It is this inward and spiritual partaking that is believed in as the true Supper of the Lord.

Worship is the adoring response of the heart and minds to the influence of the Spirit of God. It stands neither in forms nor in the formal disuse of forms ; it may be without words as well as with them, but it must be in spirit and in truth.

Preaching is believed to be divinely appointed as one of the chief means for the awakening and con-

version of sinners, and for the comfort and edification of believers, the gift and qualification to exercise it derived immediately from the Great Head of the Church, and bestowed on women as well as men. The church cannot confer, but it is its duty to recognise and foster, and while the gospel should never be preached for money, it is the duty of the church to make such provision that it shall never be hindered for want of it.

Prayer is the outcome of our sense of need. It is not confined to the closet. When uttered in response to the promptings of the Holy Spirit it becomes an important part of public worship. Individuals, families, or congregations, accepting all they receive as their Father's pure bounty, will be still *praising* Him.

It is the duty of Christians to obey the enactments of *civil government*, except those which interfere with our allegiance to God, whose worship ought in every act to be free, and in matters of religious doctrine and worship the conscience is accountable only to God.

Marriage is a solemn engagement for life, not a mere civil contract, and should be entered upon discreetly, soberly, and in the fear of the Lord.

War is incompatible with love and the forgiveness of injuries.

Oaths, profane or judicial, are to be avoided as contrary to the command of our Lord, Swear not at all.

The *First day of the week* being a release granted from business should be diligently improved as a time

for public worship, scripture reading to assembled households, private retirement, and devotional engagements.

This Declaration, of which the preceding can scarcely be termed even an *abstract*, closes with an earnest exhortation that, "Life *from* CHRIST, life *in* CHRIST, must ever be the basis of life *for* CHRIST. For this we have been created and redeemed, and by this alone can the longings of our immortal souls be satisfied."

NOTE.—The representations of this Richmond Conference did not involve the various Yearly Meetings in any acceptance of its Conclusions, and as to this Declaration, whilst some have adopted it, others (like London Yearly Meeting, which had not felt the need for further declarations of its belief) have refrained from expressing a judgment ; though, as to the Conference itself, it could trust "that the results of its deliberations will be promotive of the welfare of the Society."

CHAPTER XXX.

CONCLUSION.

UNWORTHY would it be of a religious society if these views of the nature and history of "The Friends" were offered with any other object than a desire to make apparent that principle of life which has proved *preservative* of it amid circumstances of the gravest peril from within and without, and endued it with a *flexibility* capable of adjustments to meet social changes throughout seven generations.

That principle may be described in the declaration of an apostle "that the grace of God in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath appeared unto all men, teaching them that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts they should *live* soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world looking for the *appearing* of the great God our Saviour, who shall change our vile body so that it shall be like unto His glorious body according to the working, whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself.

The *appearing* thus described has to the "Friend" a *threefold* aspect of Past, *Present*, and Future, united with a special sense of the *Present* blessings opened to the believing soul by the Lord's great work in the past, whereby He now enters by His spirit into the willing heart as into His temple of old. It is for this, His

spiritual appearance the Friend worshipfully waits, and in its realization finds strength in the present, hope for the *future*.

This consciousness of the Lord's presence in the heart is attended not only with a sense of sins forgiven, but also of His divine power to save *from* sin and *overcome* in the hour of temptation, even by that power whereby He is found to subdue all things in the believer's heart unto *Himself*.

The Friend has called this blessedness by various biblical terms of Light, Life, and Seed, and felt its freedom for all men without limitation of Race, Colour, or Creed, with an absolute independence of ritual or ceremonial observance of any kind.

He claims the holy scriptures as witnessing to this, and to their being in themselves a divinely appointed guide for obtaining this blessing.

He regards no church arrangements—however ancient—as any other than *helps* to, as distinct from repositories of, this divine grace. For his trust is in the Lord alone, of whose life-giving *virtue* he is, he believes, as much a partaker as were those whose fleshly ailments He healed in the days of His appearance as man to men.

Such are the blessings the Friend conceives were opened to all by His "*finished*" work which effected an unification with all men, who, left to themselves, have no true life. Thus is made possible to the believer an inward healing of spirit, and an infelt power over sin, through partaking by faith of His

resurrection life. A direct access is recognised as having been thereby opened for every spirit unto the Lord of all spirits, that the Lord Himself may be known as the True Minister of the Sanctuary, that teacheth as never man can teach, and teacheth also one to minister unto another with a divine anointing no human training or consecration can confer.

Thus truly looking “unto Jesus” in *all* His blessed offices, the Friend in his worship is not dependent on any human arrangements or human ministry, and yet never throughout the two centuries of his chequered course has he been without a stream of ministry in a true apostolic succession, founded on the same qualifications as enabled fishermen and sons of toil, in primitive times, to become witnesses of Gospel blessings in a risen and ever *present* Saviour.

No other church, it has been said, has had more ministers amongst them, in proportion to their numbers, than “the Friends,” a result wholly independent of any outward inducements, and often entailing much personal sacrifice in worldly advancement, ease, or comfort. Whilst with others a submission to some rite or ceremony becomes imperative for entrance into the covenanted blessings of the Gospel, no such restriction obtains with one who, like the Friend, believes in our Lord having by his voluntary death so united Himself to mankind as to have made all men, in virtue of birth, free to partake of the fountain of spiritual life, opened for us in him.

Whilst with so many others there is a belief in a

divinely appointed organization as the *root* of a Christian's privilege, with the Friend all organization is the *fruit* of his faith in the ever present guidance of his living, loving Lord and Saviour, that such means as will truly serve the Society's welfare may be changed or adopted as altered circumstances require.

Through this dependence great changes in arrangements have been safely effected, with a flexibility far removed from dogmatic adherence to custom or precedent.

"I like this word *flexibility*," said David Updegraff at the Richmond Conference (himself a descendant of those emigrating Germans who first protested against slavery), "it is a true, good, blessed word, and it belongs to the Society of Friends, and if it had not been for the *flexibility* that God has given us by the presence of His Spirit and the power of His truth, we should have been broken into a thousand fragments long ago. But we have stood the storms of many a conflict, and passed through them in love and Christian charity.

As to *outward* life, the Friend whilst bearing his share in all legally imposed contributions to a State ministry, has not availed himself of its service, he has not brought his children to the *State*-provided font for assumed deliverance from original sin ; nor submitted to the touch of an Episcopal hand that he might come for spiritual nourishment to the *State's* altar ; his daughters have been content to take their husbands' pledge in marriage without any *State* official's aid ; nor has such been sought for under other circumstances of

life, or in the hour of approaching death, having felt satisfied in committal of dust to dust, without any *State-sanctioned* requiem at the tomb.

The Friend has provided his own burial grounds, built his own meeting-houses, kept his own registries of marriages, births, and burials, maintained his own poor, and educated their offspring, without any lessening of his contribution to the public establishments, and without seeking their aid.

For with all this independence no exclusiveness has resulted, either in withholding sympathy, or sharing by personal effort, in whatever might promise to foster good, resist evil, or redress wrongs. "Almost every crusade" (to use the words of George Gillett at the Richmond Conference) "for relieving the sin and suffering of the world has had for its *pioneers* members of the Society of Friends, and has been sustained by the gifts and self denying work of its members, who have gone out to work in the service and love of Him who has redeemed them."

The Friend is one who has endeavoured to live at peace with all men, to seek for the good of all, and love the good in all.

Thus it is rare for his name to appear in lawsuits, for differences with his brethren are the subject of adjustment by arbitration rather than litigation. Seldom have the officers of justice had to seek his dwelling on a criminal charge, and the few sad instances that have occurred, owe much of their notoriety to their infrequency.

Surely the followers of this principle of life in Christ Jesus our Saviour have manifested His presence and power in an outward conduct in life, both varied and prolonged, and have shown how—through divine assistance—there may be a “living holily, justly, and unblamably,” amid the activities and trials incident to a thorough participation in social, commercial and industrial life.

“In busy lane or crowded mart
Plying their daily tasks with busier feet,
Because their inmost souls a holy strain repeat.”

Any fresh sense of this arising from a review of their history and organization will, it may be hoped, stir all to come more and more into that personal realization of the *present* appearing in the *heart* “of the great God our Saviour,” whereby a consciousness arises of power for good and power against evil, not of man, nor of submission to man-administered Cereimonial, however ancient, nor of faith in man’s elaborated creeds.

In closing this imperfect review it may be allowable to revert to the scene with which it commenced, and stand as it were beside the solitary traveller on that Lancashire Mount of observation. What he saw in *prospective* gaze—of a great people, white in their raiment, a prepared people—we now see in *retrospective* glance to have been realised in the beneficent course of the Society.

From Pendle Hill to a Richmond of the American Prairies is as far as the East is from the West, and so

far throughout two centuries and more of time, has the Community which that Leicestershire shepherd was commissioned to inaugurate, flowed in its beneficent course.

It burst forth like a Jordan at once, a full and rushing river that no rocks of persecution could stay, nor has its wide expansion over level ground arrested its living impulse, but rather self-reformation has sent it onward in fertilising channels of many sided philanthropy, until now its share in modern Christian effort keeps it from being lost in fruitless admiration of a past career.

Happily the present Generation is yielding proof of this in Word and Deed, and one who is himself an earnest worker, and whose ancestry is from the region George Fox thus overlooked, has claimed that Friends are possessed of six special weapons that qualify them in a particular way for the evangelisation of the masses.

1. Their belief that God has a witness for Himself in the soul of every human being.

2. Their belief in the immediate and direct guidance of the Holy Spirit.

3. Their belief that Salvation may be obtained through Christ alone.

4. Their disuse of outward Rites and Ceremonies.

5. The absence of a paid ministry.

6. Their democratic form of Church Government.

May all these efforts be conducted on the basis of the Divine injunction, "One is your Master, even

Christ, and all ye are brethren," with the aim and result of yet bringing a "prepared," people, able themselves to say, "We were nothing, Christ is all." For—as the Yearly Meeting has expressed it—"Union with Him is Life, Separation from Him is Death."

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